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BOSTON CITY CLUB BULLETIN



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1

OCTOBER, 1920

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES

1920-1921

GEORGE H. ELLIS, *President*

CHARLES H. THURBER, *First Vice-President*

FRANK V. THOMPSON, *Second Vice-President*

A. B. BEECHING, *Treasurer*

LLOYD B. HAYES, *Civic Secretary*

Board of Governors

Ex Officio

A. B. Beeching
George H. Ellis
Frank V. Thompson
Charles H. Thurber

Term expires 1921

John L. Bates
Charles B. Breed
W. Cameron Forbes
Harry S. Kelsey
Clarence W. McGuire
Clarence C. Minard
William B. Munro
William E. Skillings

Term expires 1922

James S. Blake
Charles L. Burrill
William C. Crawford
Frederick Homer
James A. McKibben
Patrick F. O'Keefe
F. Nathaniel Perkins
Abraham C. Webber

Term expires 1923

March G. Bennett
Frederic H. Fay
Franklin T. Kurt
Fred E. Mann
George von L. Meyer
Claude A. Palmer
Henry Penn
E. Leroy Sweetser

Executive Committee

*William B. Munro
Charles B. Breed
Frederic H. Fay
Henry Penn
Gen. E. Leroy Sweetser
Frank V. Thompson

* Chairman

House Committee

*William E. Skillings
Austin C. Benton
Horace S. Ford
Frank D. Kemp
Arthur L. Potter

Entertainment Committee

*Fred E. Mann
Walter E. Anderton
Edwin F. A. Benson
E. Fred Cullen
Franklin W. Ganse
Edward McKernon
Jacob R. Morse
Robert Seaver
Alfred R. Shrigley
Frank P. Sibley
Carroll J. Swan
Addison L. Winship

Membership Committee

*A. C. Webber
W. Standwood Field
Victor A. Heath
Samuel F. Hubbard
Frank D. Kemp
Dr. Timothy Leary
Frank Leveroni
John J. Morgan
Francis P. O'Connor
Myron E. Pierce
Frank R. Shepard
Edward C. Wade

Hospitality Committee

*Franklin T. Kurt
Augustus T. Beatey
Moses J. Brines
William J. Fortune
J. Mitchell Galvin
Harry N. Guterman
Walter A. Hawkins
Jas. C. Higgins
Col. W. J. Keville
Rabbi Harry Levi
Logan L. McLean
Charles H. Simons
Arthur J. Wellington

Finance Committee

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George E. Brock
David A. Ellis
Bernard J. Rothwell

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Charles S. Sanborn

Art and Library Committee

*William C. Crawford
John K. Allen
Pasquale Gallassi
Vesper L. George
J. E. Hannigan
Maurice B. Hexter
Seth K. Humphrey
Joseph Michelman
Edward K. Robinson
Foster W. Stearns

Forum Committee

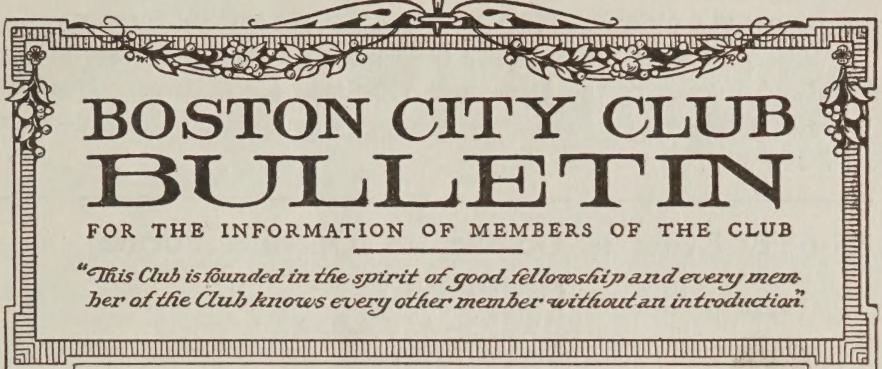
*Charles Kroll
March G. Bennett
G. Waldo Crawley
Geo. W. Coleman
W. T. A. Fitzgerald
C. E. Gibson
Victor J. Loring
Moses S. Lourie
John J. Walsh

Bulletin Committee

*Patrick F. O'Keefe
Edgar E. Nelson
George R. Pulsifer
Julius Andrews
Worcester Putnam

Nominating Committee

*Addison L. Winship
Charles P. Curtis
Frederick P. Fish
Frank L. Locke
Bernard J. Rothwell
Frank P. Sibley
James J. Storrow



BOSTON CITY CLUB BULLETIN

FOR THE INFORMATION OF MEMBERS OF THE CLUB

"This Club is founded in the spirit of good fellowship and every member of the Club knows every other member without an introduction."

VOL. XV

OCTOBER 1, 1920

No. 1

PROGRAM FOR OCTOBER

Thursday Evening, October 7

OPENING EVENT, CONCERT

The Boston Symphony Players' Club
ARTHUR BROOKE, Conductor

EDITH WEY, Mezzo-Contralto, Soloist

Auditorium, 8 o'clock

Arthur Brooke, a well-known member of the Boston Symphony Orchestra for many years, is a conductor of experience, and possesses the rare art of arranging a program by the best composers, and at the same time of the lighter and more pleasing numbers. The artists are all members of the Boston Symphony Orchestra.

Edith Wey, the soloist, has a charming mezzo-contralto voice, and has appeared with distinguished success in a number of concerts in Boston and about New England.

Thursday Evening, October 14

CAMPAIGN ADDRESS

Hon. OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD
(U. S. Senator from Alabama)

Hon. JOSEPH A. MAYNARD, Surveyor of the Port of Boston, will preside.

Auditorium, 7.30 o'clock

Note change of hour for meeting in Auditorium

Dinner at 6 o'clock. Tickets at the office of the Civic Secretary.

Senator Underwood comes to the Club through the courtesy of the Speakers' Bureau of the Democratic National Committee. *Members will please note that the hour for the meeting in the Auditorium has been set for 7.30 p.m.*

Monday Evening, October 18 (Opening Forum)

Auditorium, 8 o'clock

EDWARD A. FILENE

"WORLD CONDITIONS"

Mr. Filene is on his way from Europe at this writing. He sailed for Europe about four months ago to attend the organization meeting of the new International Chamber of Commerce, the formation of which was due so largely to his efforts, and of which he is now a Director. After staying several weeks in Paris for the meetings of the Chamber, during which time he had numerous opportunities to talk with prominent bankers, business men, and political leaders in France, he left for a tour of the important manufacturing centers of Italy. From Italy he went to Fiume, and from there to Austria, where he stayed several weeks studying business and economic conditions. In Vienna he was given every assistance by leading representatives of that city in making his inquiries. From Vienna he made a trip into Czecho-Slovakia and studied conditions there with the help of newspaper publishers and economists. Mr. Filene then went to Berlin and interviewed leaders of the Socialist and Labor parties, members of the government, and well-known business men. From Berlin he returned to Paris, and from there to England, whence he sailed on the S. S. "Imperator," on September 25.

Thursday Evening, October 21

CAMPAIGN ADDRESS

BY

Hon. JAMES M. BECK

(New York City)

Hon. DAVID JAYNE HILL will preside.

Auditorium, 8 o'clock

Dinner at 6 o'clock. Tickets at the office of the Civic Secretary.

Mr. Beck comes to the Club through the coöperation of the Speakers' Bureau of the Republican National Committee.

Thursday Evening, October 28

ROY CHAPMAN ANDREWS

(American Museum of Natural History)

“ THE LAND OF KUBLA KAHN ”

(Motion pictures and lantern slides)

Dr. HERMAN C. BUMPUS will preside.

Auditorium, 8 o'clock

Mr. Andrews, a well-known traveler and explorer, returned last spring, after two years' extensive exploration of the interior of China, Mongolia, and the Chinese Tibet. It is a land we rarely hear about, in a remote corner of the world, difficult of access and abounding in strange scenes, strange people, and wild animal life. Mr. Andrews's story is one of adventure, rich in color and full of unique interest.

Dinner at 6 o'clock. Tickets at the office of the Civic Secretary.

Monday Evening, November 1 (Forum)

S. K. RATCLIFFE

(Manchester, England)

SUBJECT TO BE ANNOUNCED

Mr. Ratcliffe is about to sail from Europe and will be fully informed on matters of great interest.

ADVANCE NOTICE

ELECTION RETURNS

Tuesday Evening, November 2

Auditorium, 7 o'clock

Private Wire

Orchestra

Stereopticon

COMMITTEE ARRANGING FOR SATURDAY AFTERNOON MEETINGS

Local Questions to be Discussed

Believing that possibly a sufficient number of members will be interested in a series of Saturday afternoon meetings for the discussion of local, civic, political, and governmental questions by local authorities,

the committee in charge of the Club's program of events is planning to arrange a special program beginning in November, and continuing twice a month during the winter, notice of such meetings appearing in the BULLETIN. The committee will welcome suggestions by members from time to time regarding topics and speakers, addressed to the Civic Secretary.

A WORD FROM THE FORUM COMMITTEE

The opening meeting of the Forum season is announced in another page of this issue, and the committee is anxious to interest all the members of the Club in the possibilities of the Forum as a means of education and of creating good-will and mutual understanding.

There are many problems of vital importance that concern all of us as business men and citizens. It is possible in many cases to get experts to present these problems to us in an intelligent way and afford us an opportunity to question them and clarify our understanding.

Your committee has no set plan other than that of securing, so far as is possible, speakers on topics that will be of interest to the members. We desire to make the range of topics as broad as possible, and we will appreciate suggestions from the membership.

The Forum meetings of the past few years were undoubtedly successful from the point-of-view of those who were regular in attendance. It is possible to make this year's meetings of more vital interest, and to attract a greater number of members.

The committee will appreciate the coöperation of all the members to this end.

BOWLING SEASON OPENS

The bowling alleys will be opened Monday, October 4, under new management. The alleys have been completely renovated, and no expense is being spared to give the members the best service possible.

The house tournaments will be held as usual and bowlers are requested to enter as soon as possible to insure an early start.

The prospects for a league team are much brighter than at any time in the past. Any assistance in bringing good bowlers to the notice of the committee will be greatly appreciated.

SECRETARY WALSH RESIGNS

Hon. John J. Walsh, Secretary of the Club, presented his resignation to the Board of Governors at the last meeting. The resignation was referred to the Executive Committee.

WHAT THE CLUB OFFERS

For the benefit of members, old and new, who may not be fully acquainted with the Club's facilities, the following will be of interest.

Thursday Evening Meetings

Beginning with the first Thursday in October, and continuing through April, the Entertainment Committee provides a speaker, illustrated lecture, or concert, in the Auditorium on the fourth floor, at eight o'clock. Preceding the meeting in the Auditorium, there is a dinner at six o'clock in the banquet room on the ninth floor, tickets for which can be obtained in advance at the office of the Civic Secretary. Seats for those attending the dinner are reserved in the Auditorium. These meetings are open to members and friends unless notice is given to the contrary. No tickets are necessary for the meetings. Notice of these events is given in the BULLETIN, issued on the first of each month.

Monday Evening Forum Meetings

Beginning in November, and continuing through April, the Forum Committee provides, on every other Monday at eight o'clock, a speaker who discusses some topic of timely interest, followed by a period of questions and answers. These meetings are usually held in the Auditorium, are open to members and friends, no tickets required, notice being given in the BULLETIN.

Auditorium

The large Auditorium on the fourth floor, equipped with motion-picture machine and stereopticon, with a seating capacity of eleven hundred, is also available for society meetings and banquets. When arranged for a banquet it will accommodate about five hundred. Reservations may be made through the manager's office.

Main Dining-Room

The Main Dining-Room, occupying the entire eleventh floor, is open from 7 A.M. to 8 P.M. with à la carte and table d'hôte service.

Grill Room

The Grill Room in the basement, near the main entrance, is open from 11 A.M. to 3 P.M., when luncheon is served on the cafeteria plan, affording members an opportunity to secure quick service at popular prices. From 5 to 10 P.M. dinner is served à la carte.

Private Dining-Rooms

There are twenty private dining-rooms on the ninth and tenth floors, accommodating groups of from eight to two hundred and fifty persons. These rooms are available at noon or in the evening. They may also be secured for business meetings, without meals, at other than luncheon or dinner hours. Those who wish to do so can arrange to have a particular room reserved for regular, stated dates, or they may be secured from time to time. Reservations are made at the manager's office.

Bedrooms

There is a limited number of bedrooms on the sixth, seventh, and eighth floors, with and without bath, at the disposal of transient

members. As applicants for these rooms cannot always be accommodated, it is necessary that reservations be made as far in advance as possible with the clerk at the desk in the main lobby.

Change Room

The change room, near the elevator on the sixth floor, is at the disposal of members at all times. It is designed to accommodate those who may wish to attend a banquet, reception, or theater party, at the Club or elsewhere, and who do not find it convenient to go to their homes in order to dress for the occasion. No reservation necessary.

Bowling Alleys

The bowling alleys, six in number, are open daily from noon to 11 P.M., beginning Monday, October 4. They have been thoroughly renovated and are now in excellent condition. Details concerning a league team and tournaments will be found on another page.

Billiards and Pool

The pool room is open throughout the year, from 8 A.M. to 11 P.M., in charge is Mr. George Slossen, a former World billiard champion, under whose personal direction the equipment is kept in excellent condition. He will be glad to make special arrangements with members who may desire private instruction.

Cigar Stand

The cigar stand in the main lobby is constantly supplied with the leading brands of cigars, cigarettes and smoking tobacco. Special attention is given to box orders for personal use or gifts, particularly during the holiday season. The Club will be pleased to secure any special brand of cigar or cigarette for any member who wishes it.

Barber Shop

The barber shop on the main floor, open from 8 A.M. to 8 P.M., is up-to-date in every respect, equipped with seven chairs and the highest class of attendants which can be secured.

Game Room

The game room on the third floor is open from 8 A.M. to 11 P.M. for those who are interested in checkers, chess, or dominoes. Card playing is forbidden under the By-Laws. Tournaments are arranged from time to time during the winter by the committee in charge.

Library

The library is located in a quiet corner on the second floor in the rear of the building, where members will find leading fiction, the works of standard authors, biography, science, travel, drama, history and fine arts.

Guest Cards

Members may secure guest cards entitling friends residing beyond a forty-mile radius of Boston, to club privileges for a period not exceeding two weeks, by applying at the clerk's desk in the main lobby.

MEMBERSHIP WAITING LIST

The following is a list of applicants for membership whose names will come before the Membership Committee for consideration at the next meeting, which will be held some time in October. Any communications regarding the desirability of any applicant should be sent to Mr. A. C. Webber, chairman Membership Committee. The names are arranged in the order in which they appear on the waiting list.

Thurman Leslie
Philip G. Carleton
Lionel C. Hartford
Geo. Edmond Wood
Sheldon B. Hickox
William T. Miller
Henry G. Allbright
Bernard A. Burke
John Joseph Costello
James Howard Bushway
George Baldwin Field
Wallace I. Lamson
N. Frederick Foote
Richmond Gordon
Mitchell B. Kaufman
William T. Furness
Frederic A. Ryer
John Codman
John B. C. Smith
Richard W. Wyman
Charles E. Sullivan
Allan V. Mutty
John C. Gerald
William S. McKnight
Charles S. Redding
John Bolinger
Elliott W. Fiske
Harrison R. Lewis
John H. Doake
Fred L. Johnston
Harry M. Hill
Burton L. Barstow
Gideon T. Sawyer
William Morgan
Charles M. Timmons
Guy P. Livingstone
James H. Fanner
Gordon Hewes Allen
Malcolm Eben Sturtevant
Louis C. Smith

Frank O. Whitney
Frank L. Perry
Harold Caverly
Joseph John Lane
Ramon Sulloway Kelly
Charles E. Reed
Nathaniel Frank Bryant
Robert George Clough
John William Thornton
Dr. B. G. Carlson
Charles L. Jones
Harold K. Thomas
Henry S. Howes
Nathan Thumin
Henry Bolton Peek
Elmer A. Cowdrey
Paul H. Sherwin
Cornelius A. McAuliffe
Edward Warren Goodale
William S. Brown
Fred R. Colburn
Hampden Dixon
Charles Henry Bolster
Frank Thomas Wood
William Martin Peck
George E. Stearns
Albert M. Lyons
George Siddons Mowbray
Howard Augustus Polter
Chester G. Clark
Oscar A. Olstad
John C. Morgan
Frederick S. Callahan
Forrest H. Barton
Henry P. Damrell
William Wallace Macdougal
Frank Joseph Harris
John J. Cummings
Warren C. Cary
George Albert Fiel

Earl Fisk Boyes
John J. Kelley
Ernest H. Griswold
John H. Craigie
Charles Goldman
Paul T. MacAuliffe
Owen Rossiter
William Irwin Warren
Abner Eilenberg
Warren F. Scott
Willard C. Tyler
Frederick C. Hersee
Hyman Abramson
Norman C. McLoud
Richard F. Benedict
Henry White Broughton, M.D.
Edmund J. Lonergan
Melvin D. Munsie
William Hahn
Frederick W. Sullivan
Charles Glidden Woodbridge
William A. Sullivan
James R. Linehan
Duncan Macfarlane
George L. Wright
John Dixon Carney
Albert E. Lynch
George Jaris
Mark Romanow
William Howard Weiss
Edward Holmes Kittredge
Eleazar Cate
William Thomas Hall Salter
William Dwight Davis
George Francis Trenholm
Sidney F. Hooper
Samuel Kalesky
Otto F. C. Heinemann
Erland F. Fish
David F. Choate
Philip Edw. Anthony Sheridan
Spencer Phenix
A. Theodore Seguar
Christopher Jennings Nellis
Fred E. Ritchie
Howard Arnold Tinkham
Earle C. Stropp
Elias Grossman
Ernest C. Collopy
Karl A. Harig
Frederick W. Hollis
Herbert F. Kenworthy
George Van Horne
Edward F. Payne
Dr. Ervin A. Eastman
Hubert Alfred White
William James Williams
Frank J. Murray
George Stanley Harvey
Homer F. Whittemore
Frederick J. Moffatt
Daniel J. Harrigan
Edison Alva Johnson
Charles Henry Miller
Charles Ernest Hill
Edward Wilson Blood
Eugene Douglass Staples
Edmund W. Kellogg
Walter Elton Hunter
Roger Blaney
George R. Wight
Robert Bruce White
Charles Francis Hyde
Samuel Davis
Joseph Weeks
John W. Hall
Earl Comstock Root
L. Robert Wagner
Francis P. Gilman
Harry F. Leib
Arthur Clifford England
Hugh J. Shaw
Arthur Emerson Gilman
Samuel Charles Palmer
Orrin C. Hart
Orrin Trent Hart
William E. Ball
Elroy F. Davis
William Streeter Richardson
Edward H. Condon
John N. Fulham
Charles Monteith Stewart
Ranslelear Towle
John L. Lutz
Harold Ernest Corwin
Francis Vincent Carey
Raymond H. Young
John H. Joy

Ernest T. Lyle
Rogers Watkins Harwood
Henry B. Wiegner
Lyman E. Hurd
Ernest F. Lovejoy
Frank Vincent Lennon
Edmund Arthur Chapin
Frank H. Bayrd
William A. Hastings
Paul R. Brennan
August Clarence Klein
Elmer B. Jones
Abraham Hamburg
Emerson Loren Dickerman
Augustine Hall Rich
George J. Cronin
Charles B. Ring
Thomas D. Lockwood
Philip W. Taylor
Albert Freeman Everett Howes
Percy I. Perkins
J. Ralph Magee
Willis H. Cole
Jacob W. Tushins
Shelley B. Osborne
Mortimer Thayer Farley
Eugene D. Callahan
Ferdinand H. Hughes
Frank Oliver Hall
Jeremiah Edward Connell
Elbert A. Harvey
Samuel D. Weissbuch
Harry F. Gould
William Lee George
John Hamilton Morse
Samuel Bischoff
E. M. Michael
Alfred Katz
George William Bentley, Jr.
Harry L. Frend
George Henry Martin
Herbert H. Walker
Leslie B. Ellis
Clifford Allbright
Charles Frederick Wright
Leo Eldridge Davison
Harvey P. Wood, 2d.
Henry Campbell Pragoff
John Bion Richards
Charles I. Skinner
J. F. Ernest Muehleder
Walter Watson Cook
Adolf Leve
Raphael C. Pitcher
Harold H. Lyon
Frank H. Beach
Arthur H. Doble
Alexander Hutchins
Edwin C. Foss
Charles Henry Glidden
Theodore W. Smith
Albert Anton Richards
L. Haskell White
Edmund Jefferson Burke
S. Hardy Mitchell
Herbert Pickering Boynton
Clarence W. Dow
Alvin T. Wilkinson
Charles Andrews Cross
G. Harley Chamberlain
Clarence V. Williams
E. J. Reynolds
John Ayer
William A. Cleary, D.D.S.
James F. DuVally, M.D.
Jerome L. Windmuller
Harold Raymond Warren
Albert B. Bent
William B. Brigham
Ben Hilborn Sugerman
George Eaton Kent
Edward F. Worcester
Abraham Steinberg
Ernest Jenkins Hoffman
John Ellsworth Wilson
Alfred Fisher Wallace
Max Adler
Herman Allen Savage
John C. Robinson
Howard Allison Gray
Howard W. Hersey
Ralph Temple Jackson
Robert J. Watson
J. Hugh Jackson
Stephen Joseph Boylan
Charles H. Keene, M.D.
Frederic H. Spaulding
W. A. North

Oscar Shepard Hodgkins	James P. Hoar
Fred Adolph Schneider	Roderigue Francis Soule
Clarence A. Strong	Edward Watson Supple
Maurice B. Fredericks	Roderick Fraser
Col. Alfred F. Foote	Harry Hill Bigelow
John B. Kirkpatrick	John Francis Daly
Jacob Ziskind	Paul Lincoln Folsom
Nelson H. Tucker	Edmund Henry
Sturgis H. Hunt	Chas. M. Norcross
Henry Mitchell	Theodore Henry Stegmaier
William Cuthbert Harrison	Martin L. Anderson
Carleton Doty Morse	Joseph J. Feely
Thomas Davidson	William Reginald Tower
Joseph V. Harkins	Warren P. Hosmer
Howard E. Chase	John Kenny
Matthew O. Byrne	

NECROLOGY

John S. Wheeler	J. Frank Pope
James H. Cockcroft	Harvey M. Holt
John W. Wright	Charles Randall
Frank H. Carlisle	Howard L. Olds
Daniel L. Prendergast	Walter S. Kramer
Albert Abrahams	John T. Cranshaw
Frank P Anthony	

RECIPROCAL RELATIONS

The Boston City Club has reciprocal relations with the clubs listed below and members of the Boston City Club may have all the privileges of these clubs by presentation of their membership cards.

ALBANY, N. Y. Albany Club, 102 State Street.
Sleeping rooms (18); restaurant, 7 A.M. to midnight.

BALTIMORE, MD. City Club, S. E. cor. Calvert and Fayette Streets.
Restaurant, noon to 4 P.M.

BUFFALO, N. Y. Ellicott Club, Ellicott Square Building.
Restaurant, 8 A.M. to 8 P.M.

CHICAGO, ILL. City Club, 315 Plymouth Court.
Restaurant, 11.30 A.M. to 8 P.M.

CHICAGO, ILL. Hamilton Club, 18 So. Dearborn Street.
Sleeping rooms (20); restaurant, 8 A.M. to 9 P.M.

CINCINNATI, OHIO. Business Men's Club, 9th and Race Streets.
Restaurant, 11 A.M. to 12 midnight

CLEVELAND, OHIO. City Club, Hollenden Hotel.
Restaurant, 12 M. to 2 P.M.

DUBUQUE, Ia. Commercial Club, Ninth and Locust Streets.
Restaurant, 12 to 1 P.M., 6 to 7 P.M.

HARTFORD, CONN. City Club, 7 Central Row.
Restaurant, 9 A.M. to 12 midnight.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND. Chamber of Commerce, 28 So. Meridian Street.
Restaurant, 11.30 A.M. to 2 P.M.

KANSAS CITY, Mo. City Club, 1021 Grand Avenue.
Restaurant, 11.45 A.M. to 2 P.M.

MEMPHIS, TENN. Chamber of Commerce, 79 Monroe Avenue.
Restaurant, 12 M. to 3 P.M.

MILWAUKEE, WIS. City Club, 211 Grand Avenue.
Restaurant, 11.30 to 2.00 and 5.30 to 8.00.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. Athletic Club, 621 Second Avenue South.
Sleeping rooms (135); restaurant and every club facility.

NASHVILLE, TENN. Commercial Club, 311 Fourth Avenue North.
Restaurant, 11.30 to 3.00 and 6.00 to 8.30.

NEW YORK, N. Y. Arkwright Club, 320 Broadway.
Restaurant, 7 A.M. to 6 P.M.

OMAHA, NEB. Chamber of Commerce, 14th and Farnam Streets.
Restaurant, 11.30 A.M. to 2 P.M.

PHILADELPHIA, PA. City Club.
Sleeping rooms (20); restaurant, 7 A.M. to 8 P.M.

RICHMOND, VA. Business Men's Club, 10th and Main Streets.
Restaurant, 7.30 A.M. to 8 P.M.

SEATTLE, WASH. Arctic Club, 308 Cherry Street.
Sleeping rooms (47); restaurant.

ST. JOHN'S, N. F. City Club, Water Street.
Restaurant.

ST. LOUIS, Mo. City Club, 911 Locust Street.
Restaurant, 12 M. to 2.30 P.M.

WASHINGTON, D. C. City Club, 1634 Eye Street Northwest.
Sleeping rooms (20); restaurant, 7.30 A.M. to 9 P.M.

Members should consult this list in its latest form, as changes are constantly being made.

(For Ready Reference)

BOSTON CITY CLUB

Program, October, 1920

Thursday evening, October 7. Concert, Boston Symphony Players' Club, ARTHUR BROOKE, conductor; EDITH WEY, soloist. Auditorium, 8 o'clock.

Thursday evening, October 14. Campaign address by Hon. OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD, U. S. Senator from Alabama. Hon. Joseph A. Maynard presiding. Dinner at 6 o'clock. Auditorium, 7:30 p.m. (Note change of time for auditorium.)

Monday evening, October 18 (Forum). EDWARD A. FILENE. "World Conditions,"

Thursday evening, October 21. Campaign address by Hon. JAMES M. BECK, of New York. Dinner at 6 o'clock. Auditorium, 8 o'clock.

Thursday evening, October 28. Illustrated lecture, motion pictures. ROY C. ANDREWS: "The Land of Kubla Kahn." Dr. Herman C. Bumpus presiding. Dinner at 6 o'clock. Auditorium, 8 o'clock.

Monday evening, November 1 (Forum). S. K. Ratcliffe of Manchester, England. Subject to be announced.

Thursday evening, November 2. Election returns by special wire. Orchestra. Auditorium, 7 o'clock.

(Tear on this line)

BOSTON CITY CLUB BULLETIN



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NOVEMBER, 1920

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES

1920-1921

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Col. W. J. Keville
Rabbi Harry Levi
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BOSTON CITY CLUB BULLETIN

FOR THE INFORMATION OF MEMBERS OF THE CLUB

"This Club is founded in the spirit of good fellowship and every member of the Club knows every other member without an introduction."

VOL. XV

NOVEMBER 1, 1920

No. 2

PROGRAM FOR NOVEMBER

Monday Evening, November 1 (Forum)

ROGER W. BABSON

"BUSINESS CONDITIONS"

Auditorium, 8 o'clock

We know of no subject of keener interest at the present moment nor of any speaker better qualified to present it. Through his immense organization and varied personal contacts, Mr. Babson acquires an understanding of fundamental business conditions that will make his address of the utmost value to all members of the Club. The question period will be extremely interesting.

At the dinner preceding the Forum Meeting, there will be a splendid opportunity to get acquainted and talk things over.

Tuesday Evening, November 2

ELECTION RETURNS

Auditorium, 7 o'clock

Private Wire

Jazz Orchestra

Stereopticon

Members may invite Guests

Wednesday, November 3

LUNCHEON

To His Excellency

Gov. CALVIN COOLIDGE

AUDITORIUM, ONE P.M.

Hon. George H. Ellis Presiding

MEMBERS ONLY

The Lieutenant-Governor, Members of the Governor's Council, State Officers, and Members of Congress will be present.

Members who attend the luncheon will be asked to assemble at the club at 12.30 sharp, in order to march, with a band, to the State House, greet Governor Coolidge, and escort him to the club.

Early application for tickets to the luncheon is advised. One ticket for each member. No guests. Read carefully the instructions which will accompany each ticket.

Further details will be announced Tuesday evening, November 2, in the Auditorium, when any tickets remaining can be secured.

Thursday Evening, November 4

Concert by

THE BOSTONIA ORCHESTRA

BELLE YEATON RENFREW, Conductor

ELISE FALES BIRON, Solo Violin

Assisted by

Mme. MARIE DI PESA, Soprano MABEL TUCKER HIRTZ at the piano

Auditorium, 8 o'clock

The Bostonia Orchestra, composed entirely of women, is a real Symphony Orchestra, one of the leading musical organizations of Boston, every member of which is a recognized artist. They have given concerts throughout the United States and Canada, in addition to many appearances before clubs and societies in Boston. Mrs. Renfrew is a dignified, unassuming, womanly leader, whose long association with the Bostonia Orchestra has given her an established place among the master conductors.

PROGRAM

1. March — "The King of France"	Sousa
(The King of France, with twenty thousand men, marched up the hill, and then marched down again.)	
2. Overture — "Mignon"	Thomas
3. Songs — <i>a</i> — Mattinata	Leoncavallo
<i>b</i> — Maman, Dites-Moi	Wekerlin, 8th Century
<i>c</i> — He loves me, loves me not	Mascagni
4. "Bluette"	Drigo
" In the Mill " (for strings)	Gillet
5. "Southern Rhapsody" (Descriptive)	Hosmer

INTERMISSION

6. Gems from the Operas	arr. Tobani
" Carmen "	" Rigoletto "
" Il Trovatore "	" La Gioconda "
" L'Éclair "	" Lucia di Lammermoor "
	" Faust "
7. Violin Solo — "Zigeunerweiser"	Sarasate
8. Waltz — "España"	Waldteufel
9. Aria from "Lucia"	Donizetti
10. Excerpts from "Monsieur Beaucaire"	Messager

Thursday Evening, November 11

ARMISTICE DAY

Col. FREDERICK W. GALBRAITH, Jr.

(National Commander of the American Legion)

Will be the guest of

The American Legion, Department of Massachusetts,
and the Boston City Club

Auditorium, 8 o'clock

Major James T. Duane, Commander, Massachusetts Department, American Legion, will preside.

The members of the American Legion will be our guests on this occasion, in recognition of the honor which its Commander has conferred upon us in accepting the joint invitation of the Massachusetts Department of the American Legion and the Boston City Club to be their guest. It is an honor to Massachusetts and Boston, for from over a score of invitations from all over the country, Colonel Galbraith decided to return on this day, to his native state and the city where he began his business career. In recognition of this honor, and in respect to Colonel Galbraith's personal request, we open our doors to the American Legion, in order that they may join with us in welcoming their National Commander.

Colonel Galbraith served overseas with the 37th Division, Ohio National Guard, at the head of the 147th Infantry. He was engaged in the Meuse-Argonne offensive, participated in the attack at St. Mihiel, and was also engaged in the Ypres-Lys sector. He was awarded the D.S.C. and Croix de Guerre.

Open only to members of the American Legion and members of the City Club, who may, however, bring as their guest a member of the Legion.

Dinner at 6 o'clock. Tickets at the office of the Civic Secretary.

Monday Evening, November 15 (Forum)

ARTHUR NASH

(Cincinnati Manufacturer)

“THE GOLDEN RULE IN INDUSTRY”

Auditorium, 8 o'clock

Mr. Nash is a business revolutionist. Not an idealist with a theory, but a practical manufacturer who has accomplished practical things.

These are some of Mr. Nash's accomplishments, — 1,000 per cent gain in production with only 600 per cent increase in labor force; raising wages and lowering production costs at the same time; running an open shop with enthusiastic union approval, — organizer of a factory force that disciplines itself. In short, a preacher turned business man, who believes religion is the only solution of our industrial problem.

Thursday Evening, November 18

Illustrated Lecture

“THE BIRD ISLANDS OF PERU”

By ROBERT CUSHMAN MURPHY

(Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences)

Motion Pictures and Stereopticon

Auditorium, 8 o'clock

Nowhere is bird population so dense as upon the islands of Peru. The motion pictures made by the Peruvian Littoral Expedition, under the leadership of Mr. Murphy, showing the colonies of cormorants, pelicans, and gannets, and those of the guano industry itself, are among the most beautiful and spectacular of natural history films. No films of this character and interest have ever been exhibited. They are accompanied by a story which is fascinating throughout.

Dinner at 6 o'clock. Tickets at the office of the Civic Secretary.

Saturday Afternoon, November 20

Reproduction of the

HARVARD-YALE FOOTBALL GAME

Auditorium, 2 o'clock

Arrangements have been made to secure a full account of the game in New Haven, which will be reproduced on the Irwin Score Board, play by play, as made on the field. Those who attended the reproduction of the game in Pasadena, between Harvard and Oregon, will remember how exciting those returns were.

Thursday Evening, November 25
THANKSGIVING DAY
No Entertainment

Monday Evening, November 29 (Forum)
PROFESSOR BRUNO ROSELLI
"WHAT IS NOW HAPPENING IN ITALY"
Auditorium, 8 o'clock

A subject of intense interest, handled by a man who knows Italy and America as well. We need to have intelligently interpreted to us the unusual industrial occurrences in Italy during the past few months.

Professor Rosselli has visited his home country, has lectured in practically every state in the union, and is certain to give us a lively and intensely interesting evening.

ADVANCE NOTICE
Thursday Evening, December 2

CONCERT
Through the courtesy of the Chickering Piano Company
THE AMPICO
Assisted by
IRMA SEYDEL, Violin
FRANCES ALDRICH, Interpretative Dancer
Soprano Soloist to be announced
Under the direction of
CAROLYN KAHARL, Educational Director

A musical treat, with unique and surprising features, is in store for those who attend this concert. The assisting artists are well-known leaders in musical and theatrical circles.

FORUM EVENING DINNERS

At the suggestion of a number of members, a new plan of dinner and discussion will be tried out on Monday evening, November 1, preceding the regular Forum Meeting.

Dinner will be served promptly at six o'clock, and an hour or more after dinner will be devoted to a general discussion of the topic of the evening. There will be no selected speakers, the discussion will be spontaneous, and all members of the Club are invited to attend. It is hoped at these gatherings to increase acquaintanceship and give at least twenty different speakers an opportunity to express themselves.

ADDRESS BY HON. OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD

November 14, 1920

INTRODUCTION BY HON. JOSEPH A. MAYNARD

Mayor Peters, Guests, and Members of the City Club, — This is Democratic night up here. I don't see many Democrats out there, but we don't want many of them. We want to make some converts, so we sent out word to have all the Republicans come, for we knew that Senator Underwood would do the rest.

Our honored guest came from Kentucky, was educated in the University of Virginia, and went to Birmingham, where he started to work, back in 1884. He made such progress in his new home in Alabama that the people sent him to Congress in 1885, where, for twenty years, he represented his district in the House of Representatives. In 1913, when the Democratic party came into power, Senator Underwood, then Representative Underwood, was made chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, which is the steering committee of the House. How well he did his job as leader is testified by the many acts that he was identified with. He was the father and originator of the Underwood Tariff Bill, that was so fearful to many of our New England merchants and manufacturers at that time. But he did not close any mills in New England. In fact, I suppose we have three mills now to every one we had then. And the great thing about that Tariff Bill was that it admitted for the manufacturers the free raw material which gave us a chance to compete with the world. There has not been a criticism of that bill in the seven years; in fact, I have not heard during this whole campaign any Republican candidate say, that the Republican party would change that Underwood Tariff Bill. And it must be a pretty good bill when the Republicans are satisfied with it, after seven years of administration under it.

He was one of the leaders in the House that was responsible for the Federal Reserve Act. Every business man of America understands what the Federal Reserve Act has done for America; how it helped to win the war; how it has helped during this crisis that we have been going through for the last two years; how it has stood back of the banks, for if it had not been for the Federal Reserve Bank many banks would have closed, not only in Boston but all over the country; and, as President Eliot said to-night, he thought it the best piece of banking legislation ever enacted in this or any other country.

In 1915, the people of Alabama made a change in their Senator,

and promoted Representative Underwood, making him Senator Underwood. At the present time he is the Democratic leader of the United States Senate.

He has been chosen by the City Club to present democracy's case here to-night, and I hope that some time in the future we will have a chance to hear from him again in our Club. When some man from the Democratic party will tell us why we should elect Senator Underwood to be President of the United States [applause]. I am not going to detain you, as the Senator has a couple of other speeches to make, and I am only the presiding officer. I therefore present to you the honorable Senator from Alabama, Oscar W. Underwood. [Applause, members standing.]

HON. OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD

Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen of the City Club, and Honored Guests,—Indeed this is an opportunity and a pleasure to be here; an opportunity to make a political speech that is not a political speech; an opportunity to talk to each Republican about the good things that come out of the Democratic party.

I, from my heart, believe that the best government that the people of the United States can have is a government that follows the fundamental precepts and the principles of the Democratic party, and I want to tell you to-night why I think it is.

I intend to review in a slight way the record of the two great parties from the standpoint of the law of the land that has been enacted by the two great parties. I think that the Democratic party has the greatest record of the last seven years of constructive legislation in the interests of the great American people that has ever been written on the statue books of this country. Our opponents were in power for fifteen years before we came into office in 1913. I know each mind here challenges that statement, and says I have overlooked the fact that Mr. Cleveland was twice President of the United States, but I have not. I said that I was going to try this question from the standpoint of the law and not of man, and during Mr. Cleveland's first administration the Republican party controlled the Congress of the United States for every hour of his term. And during his second administration his own party controlled Congress only two years, and was then immediately followed by a Republican Congress. Two years is too short a time to formulate and write and perfect great constructive legislation. So that, practically speaking, so far as the making of the law of the land is concerned,—not its enforcement, but the making of the law which governs you and regulates your business, the Republican party was in power from 1861 to 1913, or a period of over fifty years.

I cannot go into all the details of the constructive legislation which was passed by the Republican party in that time, nor can I even attempt to review the fifty great constructive measures which were passed by the present administration in the last seven years, but I shall pick out one or two examples of Democratic legislation and Republican legislation, and on that rest my case.

Federal Reserve System

I take it that the fundamental principle that business must rest on is a sound and safe governmental financial situation, so that you may have sufficient money on which to transact your business, and I cannot at all overlook the fact that the great majority of your business transactions are accomplished through means of credit, and a credit system without the actual use of money; but your credits are based on the monetary system of the country.

Let us review the record of these two parties on this question. Our Republican friends, and they had many able and great statesmen, had for many years satisfied themselves with what is called the National Banking System. I don't say that that system did not accomplish its initial purpose. It was born of the Civil War; it was born when the nation's credit was at the bottom. But it did not meet the needs and demands of the great throbbing business heart of America, and three great panics during its life proved that it did not. During the time that that law was on the statute books we had the Panic of 1873; and then, after a period of time, we had the Panic of 1893. Of course I know it has been the custom to say that that was a Democratic administration. But, understand me now, I am trying as my premise in this case, that that is a government of law, and if it is a government of law then it was under the law passed by the Republican party, because Mr. Cleveland had not been in power for more than three months when the panic broke. There was no opportunity to amend the law, and it was under the Republican system of national financing that the Panic of 1893 broke on the country. And then, after another period of years, we had the Panic of 1907. Those are concrete facts.

My friends, it would be idle for me or you to charge that the panics were due to Republicans in office. If my memory serves me right, in 1873 General Grant was President, and in 1907 Theodore Roosevelt was President, and in 1893 Harrison had just left the White House. It would be idle for me to say that the Republicans who were in office were responsible for bringing on the panics or the panicky conditions, because it would be untrue. They were men who were loyal to their country, and undoubtedly, for their own interests as well as those of their party, desired the financial success and prosperity of the country. But, nevertheless, the panic came, and the people of America paid the price of three great panics under the Republican system of finance.

Was it necessary? During that entire history of the fifteen years that they were in power, they were never able to give you a financial system that responded to the needs of your business; and there was a reason, in my judgment, why, and I am going to give it to you in a moment. But, suffice it to say that they did not accomplish the result. It is true that they talked about it, and they discussed it for many years. Some of your ablest statesmen proposed legislation on the subject, but never were they able to put it on the statute books, and give you the benefit of it. Within one year after the Democratic party came in power, in 1913, they gave you the best piece of constructive financial legislation

that has ever been written on the statute books of any country of the world. It may have some defects in it. As time goes on, it may even need some amendment. No great piece of legislative machinery has ever been born that, as it grew and developed, did not need to change its swaddling clothes; but you know as I know, that this financial legislation that was given to the people of America by the Democratic party has proved its worth, and there is no man, be he farmer, banker, or professional man, that will deny the result.

The only answer to what I say, that our political opponents made on the stump to the people, is — “Why,” they say, “your bill is nothing more than the Aldrich bill; you adopted the Aldrich bill.” In a way, we did adopt this bill, — the fundamental principles of it. There is not a great deal of difference between the bill proposed by Senator Aldrich and the bill which the Democratic party wrote on the statute books, so far as establishing an asset currency is concerned, except in one very vital particular.

I want to point out to you business men why the Republicans failed to pass this legislation. It was not on the great body of the bill that they failed, it was on its *control*. The vital thing in the Aldrich bill, so far as *control* was concerned, was that he provided for a control of this system in one central bank, controlled and owned by private capital. In other words, a great central bank whose control could be bought by men who had the money to buy it, to monopolize that control. And when he came to propose that bill, with that control, he met defeat.

On the other hand, when the Democratic party came into power, we proposed that this control should be exercised by the Government, by a board appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, operating in the interests of the great American people, and who could be changed at least once every four years if they performed their duties in a way that was disastrous to the American people. And when we proposed that control of this asset currency bill we were able to pass it, but we did not get many Republican votes. In the House of Representatives the Republicans had, I think, nearly 200 votes, and we got 34 of their votes. And when it went to the Senate we got every Democratic Senator's vote, and 7 Republican votes, while all the other Republicans in the Senate voted against it. But we put it on the books, and even some of my good banker friends who came to Washington told me that if we attempted to put the control of this measure into politics by appointing a governing board, instead of letting the bankers of the country control the system, we would bring disaster. The disaster that we brought was a machine that carried us through this great war as no other country went through the war, from a financial standpoint. We had a machine which was able to absorb through its efforts and those of the American people the great bonded indebtedness of the United States, to finance the war, and at the same time keep every paper dollar in your pocket on a parity with gold.

Look at the effect of this asset currency system. Three panics in the old administration. The greatest strain that this country ever encountered was in the recent war, and no panic resulted. The Repub-

lican party in the Civil War only had three billion dollars indebtedness to finance, and we have had between twenty-five and thirty billion to carry. The difference is in the strain that we had to take. During the Civil War I think at one time it took five paper dollars or greenbacks to buy a gold dollar under their financial system. And not only that: it was fourteen years after the war was over before the Republican party was able to resume specie payment and bring their paper dollar to parity with gold. And you have gone through this great war. And there has not been an hour when your paper dollar was not on a parity with gold.

Income Tax Legislation

Let me say a word to you about another question. From a governmental standpoint there is no question that comes more closely to you than the question of taxation. The old saying, that the power to tax is the power to destroy, is true. If this Government is ever overthrown, and the great ideals of our civilization are destroyed, it is not coming through a revolution but through the misuse and abuse of the power to tax by the Federal Government. [Applause.]

The Republican party has stood through its life for a tax on consumption, but has always turned its back against a tax on wealth. The Democratic party has stood for a tax on consumption because all men should pay some taxes. But the Democratic party has stood for the proposition that wealth, as wealth, should bear its burden of the taxes of America, as well as the great consuming masses of the American people; and from my standpoint that is good.

What has been the attitude of these two great parties on that question? It has been very clear. The Republican party, when it came into power during the Civil War, passed an income tax law, and the first tax it repealed was not the tax on matches or medicines, the taxes on consumption that individuals pay, but it repealed the income tax on wealth, and for many years we ran along without a tax on wealth. No matter how many millions of dollars you might have, you did not pay taxes to the Federal Government by reason of your millions, — you only paid it on what you consumed for yourself and family, or what you spent for consumption, and that, you know, was all out of proportion to your next-door neighbor who was walking the streets. And that condition continued, from the repeal of the first income tax, right after the Civil War, down to the Cleveland administration, when the Democratic party attempted to write an income tax to shift part of the burden of taxation to wealth, and not put it all on consumption. But the Supreme Court of the United States by a divided report held that the tax was unconstitutional and it failed.

And then we came to the Spanish War, and in the exigencies of war and necessities for revenue, the Republican party levied a tax on wealth. They levied what was called a corporation tax. In other words, a slight tax was levied on the wealth that was found in corporations, on the dividends paid by corporations. But, immediately after the Spanish War, that tax was repealed and the taxes levied on consumption. And

then it ran down to 1913, when the Democratic party came into power.

When we wrote the revenue laws that are now on the statute books, we said it was fair that the great wealth of this country should bear a part of the burdens of this great Government.

Before the war our taxes were not high. We levied and collected less than a billion dollars of money and one third of that was collected by a tax on alcoholic liquor. But, my friends, think what you would do to the mass of the American people if you had put the five and one-half billion dollars that is collected to-day on consumption, and none of it on wealth! You would so burden the small business man, the laborer, and the doctor and the lawyer, that the burden of taxation would have throttled his very existence. And there is the situation between these two great parties. There is no question about it, and I am only stating facts. My predecessor, as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, Sereno E. Paine, of New York, a great Republican, said, when I brought in that bill bearing an income tax, that no party in this country could tax wealth except as a war emergency. The record shows it; and that is the attitude of his party. My friends, in my judgment taxation can only be just when it is equitable and fairly distributed. [Applause.] That is what we have endeavored to do. But they are not talking about it in this campaign. The speakers don't seem to refer to it; but that is the step right next in front of you.

When the next President of the United States is elected, and the new Congress is elected, there must be an extra session of Congress in March or April, no matter which party wins, because these war taxes and war conditions must be revised. They know it and we know it. President Wilson, immediately after this last Republican Congress met, advised them to repeal the burden of some of these war taxes, and they did not do it; not that they are not in favor of repealing it, because we have got one or two billion of these taxes that can safely be removed from the backs of the American people, if you will properly amortize your indebtedness and run the Government with reasonable economy. And our Republican brothers across the hall from us know that, but they did not take it off, because they are approaching an election and it is a dangerous proposition at that time. [Loud applause.]

League of Nations

If you will bear with me for a few minutes I will go from peace to war. I will shift the scene entirely and talk about the attitude of these two great parties on the question of the world's peace, the question of a League of Nations. You probably have heard about it [laughter] and may not want me to talk about it, but I could not possibly fairly review the attitude of both parties on this question without presenting the Democratic viewpoint.

My friends, not for a decade, or not for a century, but since the dawn of civilization, you have had war with you. Men have paid the price of war with their lives, they have paid the price of war with their property, and yet wars have gone on, small wars almost continuously, and two or three great wars every century. Do you want that to continue? Do

you want your boys sent back to the battlefield some day, or your grandchildren? But, more than that, before we get down to the question of men, which is most important, let me say another thing about money. I sat on the Appropriation Committee of the Senate during the war. My party was not thrown out of the Senate until after the war was over. We took the responsibility and carried it through. We responded to the needs of war. We did not want to go in, and we held back to the last minute, but when your ship was sunk, your flag dishonored, and your citizens killed, we had to understand the fact that war was at our door. We accepted the challenge and the world knows how we fought. [Applause.]

But let us look at the question from the business standpoint before we go further. I sat on that great committee, and the first bill that the General Staff of the American Army asked us for carried \$7,000,000,000. Please understand that the amount of money that we paid to sustain this Government before that bill was about \$1,000,000,000 a year, and one bill at one fell swoop carried \$7,000,000,000; and we went on, because you know how costly wars are now, and within eighteen months had expended for the conduct of this war in the neighborhood of \$30,000,000,000, and half of it we raised by taxation. Of course there is a discrepancy in the figures as to the balance of bonds now, but remember I am not counting in the \$10,000,000,000 that we loaned to our Allies. If that war had kept on, — we were straining the American people through taxation to the utmost, and if that war had kept on for three years longer this country would have been bankrupt. You would have been bankrupt. You business men of Boston would have been bankrupt. Why do I say that? Because I know the spirit behind that war. I had my boys on the firing line of France with your boys. We all had them there. The frame of our Government, our personal liberties, the great ideals of the American Republic, were all at stake with that flag that our boys carried. And when we summoned 4,000,000 men to the standard, to give their lives, to save the ideals of the American Republic, do you think we would hesitate about taking your dollars? Not for a moment. We would have taken your money to the last dollar, and we would have taken the men to the last man. But as long as it went along with reason and we are out of it with reason, we can carry this unusual burden now without great stress if properly handled. But had it gone on, up into the hundreds of billions of dollars, taxation would have grown so high that it would have amounted to confiscation. And yet it would have had to come. Thank God it did not come! But, if we have to have another great war, who can say it won't come in the next one? Wars have grown so expensive to-day that a nation to defend itself, to protect its national life, must nearly bankrupt its citizenship and society, the life of its business, in order that it may survive.

Of course that is a sordid argument, when we consider it from the standpoint of the boy. I would rather give every dollar I ever had or expected to have, to have my boy safely at home than to have him one of the 81,000 that we left on the battlefield of France — and you would, too. Then why should we have these wars? Why should they come?

You say that we cannot make a millennium. We cannot force a millennium. No, but we can try, — we can try. [Prolonged applause.]

I do not tell you that we can invent a human machine that for all time in the future may guard us against the terrors and the dangers of war, but I can say that if we don't adopt this method we know that the old method has never succeeded [applause]. And I believe this method will in the main succeed in eliminating great wars, at least.

My friends, there is nothing very new in this idea; it is not new in recent years; it is not new in the minds of the statesmen; but the theory of the proposition dates way back yonder to the dawn of English civilization. Something more than a thousand years ago, in England, we had the blood feuds. If I said the land was mine and you said it was yours, we settled the ownership at the point of the sword. The strong arm won and owned the land, and the weak arm failed. And then the dawn of a Christian civilization said that we should not take from a man his property or his rights or his life because he is weak. There should be an opportunity to live for every creature that God has put upon this universe, and instead of the blood feuds and the settlement of issues by the sword, we adopted a court for the settlement of disputes between the individuals. It was slow in its progress; it was not immediately recognized by all; and sometimes the mandate of this court is not accepted now. But when it is not accepted we have appointed under our system of having a court and not a feud to try the rights of the people, — we appoint a sheriff, an officer authorized in the name of all to carry out the mandate of the court. Sometimes, — maybe once in a hundred thousand times, — when the sheriff starts out to carry out the mandate of the court and execute the judgment of the court, it is challenged by the loser in the case, and even sometimes the sheriff loses his life in the execution of his writ; but, my friends, are you willing to say that because possibly the sheriff may sometimes lose his life to execute the will of this high court, you will abandon the system entirely and go back to the blood feuds and say that the court is a failure? No. That is the same condition in the League of Nations.

The League of Nations in its essence is merely a great court, to preserve the peace of nations as the courts of the country preserve the peace between individuals. And those people who are in the court will, most of them, submit to the verdict of the court, because possibly one man can get off the reservation, one little nation may get off of it sometimes, and you have got to send the police officer out and punish some of the police officers, to get him out and put him back on the reservation, and make him obey the mandate of the court. Are you willing to abandon the court principle of settlement of international disputes by arbitration, by arbitration, rather than by war? I don't think you are, or will be.

The value of your verdict would be nothing at all if you could not enforce it. This idea of our coming into a court and saying that we are going to find a verdict of the court, and that all good people will abide by it, — the fellow that you propose to hang would probably be the first man to jump off the reservation, and many of the others would dispute

it. They would not accept it, and they only accept it when they know that the strong arm of the law is there to enforce it, and the fact that the great nations of the world in the court of the world were standing for its enforcement would carry out the verdict of the court without having to have the international sheriff [Applause].

There is one thing we can think about. The enforcement of the verdict of this court will not bankrupt anybody, and if we ever have to send any policemen to enforce it, it will be a policeman that wants to go. When you had a great war you could not ask for volunteers. We had to draft them and bring them to the standard, because we needed men and needed them quick. But if you wanted to furnish men for an international court you would furnish them from your professional soldiers, your soldier who wants to be a soldier all the time, not drag a man from his home and his fireside and his people, when he did not want to go. But all the men you would need for your international police work would be the volunteer, the professional soldier of the country. Of course we would not want him hurt, but it would not bring to your homes or firesides or your doors the distress of war, and that is the difference between adopting the League of Nations and destroying a League of Nations, and leaving it to bloody war to settle international disputes. You don't know how far it is from your country. You did not believe for a moment, a year before the German war broke out, that your boys would be in Europe. And you don't know how far away it may be to-night.

You know the difference between the two parties on that question, — at least I think you know. I know you know where the Democratic party stands. It stands for this high court of arbitration, and there is really no difference between the League to Enforce Peace, the organization headed by President Taft and most of the great patriots and thinkers of this country, and the League which was written into the covenant of the previous peace by President Wilson. President Wilson responded to a sentiment of the American people. Before the war came he had preached the League to Enforce the Peace of the World, and the women signed petitions and the men were all for it. And then when the war was about to close the Republican leaders, like your senior Senator, said that the war would be fought in vain if the outcome of the war was not a treaty which would bring about future peace of the world. And it was not until it became evident that Woodrow Wilson, carrying out the mandate and the sentiment of the American people, was about to make this great international court to keep the world peace a living fact and not a theory, that the Republican party abandoned their support of the proposition. It was not a question of throwing down the Constitution. That is all folly. I, as a Senator, am an agent of the Constitution. I derive my power through the Constitution. Did you ever hear of an agent being able to destroy the principal? You know that the Supreme Court of the United States has repeatedly held that if the Congress attempts to pass a law in violation of the Constitution of the United States, it stands null and void, and the same is true if the President and Senate attempts to make a treaty which would violate the fundamental prin-

ciples of the land. It is equally unconstitutional and void, and all the nations of the world know our Constitution and accept our contracts within its limitations.

It is true that some of these gentlemen want to be wiser than the fathers, and in this treaty to right limitations, Constitutional limitations, within this treaty,—a most unwise thing to do; not that, in fact, I could object to many of the so-called reservations that they want to right. Many of them are only the recitals of fact as they exist; but, mark you, the Constitution protects you in many respects and prevents my violating those fundamental principles. When I make a contract as a Senator, in a treaty with foreign nations, they take it subject to the limitations of the Constitution. But if I want to set myself up as a very wise man and attempt to tell them what the limitations of the Constitution are, my people may ultimately find themselves in trouble because I may not have succeeded in telling them all of the limitations that the Constitution makes. And then they would say, "But you told me these were the limitations; you did not leave it for me to find out myself"; whereas, on the other hand, if I say nothing about it, they, knowing that they accept my contract subject to the limitations of the Constitution, must accept all the limitations that future construction may bear.

So, I say, it is most unwise for us as a Senate to be attempting to define what the Constitution means. All that it is necessary to say, as we do every time that we write a treaty, is that this treaty is subject to the powers vested in us by the Constitution of the United States. That is all that is necessary, and that limitation explains itself. Talk about a superior government: whoever heard of a superior government that never had any power to enforce peace, or a superior government that had no power to tax or raise revenue for government? The very ideals of government are lacking in this League of Nations to keep the peace, but there is a great effort to remove the causes of war.

And now we come down to the attitude of the great parties. I know where the Democratic party stands, and so do you. We stand for the ratification of the treaty of Versailles [applause]. Where the Republican party, as a party, stands it is difficult to find out [laughter]. It reminds me of the old story they used to tell on the bishop. The bishop was traveling on the railroad, and the bishop had a very bad memory. He was always forgetting important things that he had to do. And the conductor came around and commenced reaching in his pocket for his ticket. He could not find his ticket, and he dug and pushed, and finally the conductor said, "Bishop, when you find that ticket, you just send it to me. I know you, and I know it is all right."

The bishop said, "No, it is not all right. Without I find that ticket," he says, "I won't know where I am a-going." [Laughter and applause.]

I will tell you, my friends, so far as I am able to tell, somebody has lost the Republican ticket, and they don't seem to know at what station they intend to get off; but we do know where their candidate intends to get off. He has made it very plain to you that he is not going to

stand for a League to keep the peace [applause]. In his speech at Des Moines, Ia., he said he was not looking for construction or interpretation, but what he stood for was rejection; and I have known that all the time. I have known that Senator Harding occupied the exact similar position that was occupied by Senator Borah and Senator Johnson. He was not for the League, but when the majority of his party voted for the Lodge reservations he went along with them, because it was the majority of his party. But now he is declaring his real position, the same position as Senator Borah, — a position of absolute, unequivocal rejection of this Treaty of Peace and this League of Nations.

Borah has been very clear and outspoken, and the Republican candidate for President has just come from behind the smoke cloud and announced his real position. There you have it, and there is no doubt about it. If you think, my friends, that there is going to be, — I don't say that Senator Harding is not sincere when he says he would like to have some other league of nations that would advocate peace but not enforce peace, just as you want a court that would try the law but have no sheriff to enforce the mandate of the court, which is an absurd proposition of course.

This League of Nations is a burning, living concern. It is not a theory, like it was fifteen months ago. There are in the neighborhood of thirty nations operating under it. They are making their promises and laying down their edicts, and do you think, after we invited them into one league of nations and we would not come into it with them, that they will stand with us for another league of nations, scrapping what they have got, to create another league of nations? No, if you don't go in you will be outside. You have got just two choices. You are either going into this one or you are going to stay outside, with all the balance of the world in a league to keep the peace, with the power of commercial boycott besides the bayonet against you, if you don't go in.

On the fifteenth day of next November they will have a meeting and establish their international court of arbitration, and are going to select judges, and you will not be represented. You will not be represented because the Republican party has kept you out. That is all there is to it. The Democratic party stands for keeping the peace by going into an international contract. They say Jefferson and Washington were not in favor of entangling alliances. Neither are we, if we can keep out of them. But we are in them. The world has got so small that when we got involved in this war we became involved in European affairs. The question is, what will we do now that we are in the midst of it, and not what we would do if we could go back and occupy the position of the country in Washington's time.

No, my friends, you have got the issue squarely before you. Will you vote on the side of adopting a court of arbitration, of joining the international league of peace as it exists to-day, or stay out in the cold by yourself?

To me and to you who had your hearts on the battlefield, I think there is but one thing to do. We cannot forget those 81,000 graves

of boys who gave their lives, not merely to drive the Germans back, but for the establishment of the great proposition of this Government, for the establishment of international peace. We cannot forget that, in that famous battle on the fifteenth day of July, the American flag was in the center of the column, and the onward rush of German invasion was stopped, and the ebb tide started in. We cannot forget when the American boy planted your flag in the last victorious trench at Sedan; he did not plant it there for the spoils of war, he did not plant it there for revenge on a fallen enemy, but he planted it there for the maintenance of great principles, free government, of Christian civilization; and, if you don't live up to those ideals when your opportunity comes to do it, I feel that the great work of that boy has been dishonored. I thank you. [Applause.]

At the dinner preceding Mr. Underwood's address, Mayor Peters, Dr. Charles W. Eliot, and United States Attorney Daniel J. Gallagher, spoke informally.

Address by JAMES M. BECK

A report of the address by Hon. James M. Beck, on October 21, will appear in the December issue, as there was not sufficient time to prepare it for this number, which had to appear early on account of the meetings which come the first three days of the month.

ART AND LIBRARY

Mr. S. W. Culver has donated several engravings to the Club, and they will be placed in appropriate rooms.

Mr. G. R. Pulsifer has given to the Club the book, "The Economic Consequences of the Peace," by John Maynard Keynes, C.B.; and Mr. M. G. Bennett has again donated several books.

As suggested in a notice in the Library, members are requested to make known the titles of such books as will be best appreciated by the majority.

Mr. W. A. Butterfield has again donated a rare picture, being a map of Boston dated 1722, together with steel engravings of Old Boston Taverns. The picture has been placed in the Reading Room, where his other donation was hung.

NOTICE TO MEMBERS

If members will immediately notify the Comptroller's office of any changes of address it will materially assist in keeping the records accurately, and in the prompt delivery of mail sent out from the Club.

It is also desirable that the Club be promptly notified of the death of any of its members.

BOWLING COMMITTEE

For the benefit of the new members interested in bowling, the committee wishes to announce that a five-man team handicap tournament is being organized, to be started as soon as twelve teams are completed. Entries may be made with the manager of the alleys.

NECROLOGY

Dewey, F. H.
Jewett, Elbridge K.

Whitmarsh, Charles F.
Little, Marcus V.

RECIPROCAL RELATIONS

The Boston City Club has reciprocal relations with the clubs listed below and members of the Boston City Club may have all the privileges of these clubs by presentation of their membership cards.

ALBANY, N. Y.	Albany Club, 102 State Street.
	Sleeping rooms (18); restaurant, 7 A.M. to midnight.
BALTIMORE, Md.	City Club, S. E. cor. Calvert and Fayette Streets.
	Restaurant, noon to 4 P.M.
BUFFALO, N. Y.	Ellicott Club, Ellicott Square Building.
	Restaurant, 8 A.M. to 8 P.M.
CHICAGO, ILL.	City Club, 315 Plymouth Court.
	Restaurant, 11.30 A.M. to 8 P.M.
CHICAGO, ILL.	Hamilton Club, 18 So. Dearborn Street.
	Sleeping rooms (20); restaurant, 8 A.M. to 9 P.M.
CINCINNATI, OHIO	Business Men's Club, 9th and Race Streets.
	Restaurant, 11 A.M. to 12 midnight
CLEVELAND, OHIO	City Club, Hollenden Hotel.
	Restaurant, 12 M. to 2 P.M.
DUBUQUE, Ia.	Commercial Club, Ninth and Locust Streets.
	Restaurant, 12 to 1 P.M., 6 to 7 P.M.
HARTFORD, CONN.	City Club, 7 Central Row.
	Restaurant, 9 A.M. to 12 midnight.
INDIANAPOLIS, IND.	Chamber of Commerce, 28 So. Meridian Street.
	Restaurant, 11.30 A.M. to 2 P.M.
KANSAS CITY, Mo.	City Club, 1021 Grand Avenue.
	Restaurant, 11.45 A.M. to 2 P.M.
MEMPHIS, TENN.	Chamber of Commerce, 79 Monroe Avenue.
	Restaurant, 12 M. to 3 P.M.
MILWAUKEE, WIS.	City Club, 211 Grand Avenue.
	Restaurant, 11.30 to 2.00 and 5.30 to 8.00.
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.	Athletic Club, 621 Second Avenue South.
	Sleeping rooms (135); restaurant and every club facility.
NASHVILLE, TENN.	Commercial Club, 311 Fourth Avenue North.
	Restaurant, 11.30 to 3.00 and 6.00 to 8.30.
NEW YORK, N. Y.	Arkwright Club, 320 Broadway.
	Restaurant, 7 A.M. to 6 P.M.
OMAHA, NEB.	Chamber of Commerce, 14th and Farnam Streets.
	Restaurant, 11.30 A.M. to 2 P.M.
PHILADELPHIA, PA.	City Club.
	Sleeping rooms (20); restaurant, 7 A.M. to 8 P.M.
RICHMOND, VA.	Business Men's Club, 10th and Main Streets.
	Restaurant, 7.30 A.M. to 8 P.M.
SEATTLE, WASH.	Arctic Club, 308 Cherry Street.
	Sleeping rooms (47); restaurant.
ST. JOHN'S, N. F.	City Club, Water Street.
	Restaurant.
ST. LOUIS, Mo.	City Club, 911 Locust Street.
	Restaurant, 12 M. to 2.30 P.M.
WASHINGTON, D. C.	City Club, 1634 Eye Street Northwest.
	Sleeping rooms (20); restaurant, 7.30 A.M. to 9 P.M.

Members should consult this list in its latest form, as changes are constantly being made.

BOSTON CITY CLUB

Program, November, 1920

Monday Evening, November 1 (Forum).

ROGER W. BABSON on "Business Conditions."

Tuesday Evening, November 2. Election Returns. Orchestra. Stereopticon. Auditorium, 7.00 o'clock.

Wednesday, November 3. Luncheon to GOVERNOR CALVIN COOLIDGE. Parade to State House, 12.30 P.M. Luncheon in Auditorium, 1 p.m. Tickets at Civic Secretary's office. Members only.

Thursday Evening, November 4. Concert, Bostonia Orchestra, MME. MARIE DI PESA, Soloist. Auditorium, 8 P.M.

Thursday Evening, November 11. Armistice Day. COLONEL F. W. GALBRAITH Jr., National Commander, American Legion. Auditorium, 8 P.M. Dinner tickets at office of Civic Secretary.

Monday Evening, November 15 (Forum). ARTHUR NASH, "The Golden Rule in Industry."

Thursday Evening, November 18. ROBERT CUSHMAN MURPHY, Illustrated Lecture, "The Bird Islands of Peru." Auditorium, 8 P.M. Dinner tickets at office of Civic Secretary.

Saturday Afternoon, November 20. Re-production of the Harvard-Yale Football Game, 2 P.M.

Monday Evening, November 29 (Forum). Prof. BRUNO ROSELLI. "What is Now Happening in Italy?"

Thursday Evening, December 2. Concert by "The Ampico" and Soloists. Courtesy of the Chickering Piano Co.

(Tear on this line)

BOSTON CITY CLUB BULLETIN



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DECEMBER, 1920

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES

1920-1921

GEORGE H. ELLIS, *President*

CHARLES H. THURBER, *First Vice-President*

FRANK V. THOMPSON, *Second Vice-President*

JOHN J. WALSH, *Secretary*

A. B. BEECHING, *Treasurer*

LLOYD B. HAYES, *Civic Secretary*

Board of Governors

Ex Officio

A. B. Beeching
George H. Ellis
Frank V. Thompson
Charles H. Thurber
John J. Walsh

Term expires 1921

John L. Bates
Charles B. Breed
W. Cameron Forbes
Harry S. Kelsey
Frank D. Kemp
Clarence W. McGuire
Clarence C. Minard
William B. Munro

Term expires 1922

James S. Blake
Charles L. Burrill
William C. Crawford
Frederick Homer
James A. McKibben
Patrick F. O'Keefe
F. Nathaniel Perkins
Abraham C. Webber

Term expires 1923

March G. Bennett
Frederic H. Fay
Franklin T. Kurt
Fred E. Mann
George von L. Meyer
Claude A. Palmer
Henry Penn
E. Leroy Sweetser

Executive Committee

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Charles B. Breed
Frederic H. Fay
Henry Penn
Gen. E. Leroy Sweetser
Frank V. Thompson

* Chairman

House Committee

*Frank D. Kemp

March G. Bennett

Austin C. Benton

Horace S. Ford

Arthur L. Potter

Entertainment Committee

*Fred E. Mann

Walter E. Anderton

Edwin F. A. Benson

E. Fred Cullen

Franklin W. Ganse

Edward McKernon

Jacob R. Morse

Robert Seaver

Alfred R. Shrigley

Frank P. Sibley

Carroll J. Swan

Addison L. Winship

Membership Committee

*A. C. Webber

W. Stanwood Field

Victor A. Heath

Samuel F. Hubbard

Frank D. Kemp

Dr. Timothy Leary

Frank Leveroni

John J. Morgan

Francis P. O'Connor

Myron E. Pierce

Frank R. Shepard

Edward C. Wade

Hospitality Committee

*Franklin T. Kurt

Augustus T. Beatty

Moses J. Brines

William J. Fortune

J. Mitchel Galvin

Harry N. Guterman

Walter A. Hawkins

Jas. C. Higgins

Col. W. J. Keville

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Foster W. Stearns

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March G. Bennett

G. Waldo Crawley

Geo. W. Coleman

W. T. A. Fitzgerald

C. E. Gibson

E. G. Herdman

Victor J. Loring

Moses S. Lourie

John J. Walsh

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Edgar E. Nelson

George R. Pulsifer

Julius Andrews

Worcester Putnam

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Frank L. Locke

Bernard J. Rothwell

Frank P. Sibley

James J. Storrow

BOSTON CITY CLUB BULLETIN

FOR THE INFORMATION OF MEMBERS OF THE CLUB

"This Club is founded in the spirit of good fellowship and every member of the Club knows every other member without an introduction."

VOL. XV

DECEMBER 1, 1920

No. 3

PROGRAM FOR DECEMBER

Thursday Evening, December 2

CONCERT

IRMA SEYDEL, Violin EDITH BULLARD, Soprano
FRANCES ALDRICH, Interpretative Dancer
and Mrs. CAROLYN KAHARL with the Ampico

PROGRAM

Staccato Étude	By LEVITZKI (reproduced by the Ampico)	Rubinstein
Carnaval		Fourdrain
Air de Salome ("Herodiade")	MISS BULLARD	Massenet
To the Sea		MacDowell
From the Depths		MacDowell
The Eagle	MISS ALDRICH and MRS. KAHARL	MacDowell
My Heart at Thy Sweet Voice		Saint-Saëns
Love's Delight	MISS SEYDEL	Kreisler
Claire de Lune	By MME. SAMAROFF (reproduced by the Ampico)	Debussy
The Morning (Peer Gynt Suit)	MISS ALDRICH	Greig
Sextette from "Lucia"	Donizetti—arranged by Saint-Lucie	
	MISS SEYDEL	
A Group of Old-Fashioned Songs	MISS BULLARD	
American Life March	Ampico in the Chickering Piano used	
Management, MRS. CAROLYN KAHARL, Educational Director		
169 TREMONT ST., BOSTON, MASS.		

Thursday Evening, December 9

WALTER CAMP

"HOW TO KEEP FIT"

Auditorium, 8 o'clock

WILLIAM T. REID, JR., Harvard, 1901, will preside.

Walter Camp, Yale 1880, president of the New Haven Clock Company, is one of the leading authorities on athletics in this country. For many years he was at the head of athletics at Yale, conspicuous for his work in football. He has also written many books and articles on sports.

During the War he was in charge of the physical welfare of thousands in various arms of the service. In his talk here he will touch upon that work, leading up to a discussion of what a business man in middle life should do to keep himself physically sound. This he will illustrate by a practical demonstration of a series of setting-up exercises.

Dinner at 6 o'clock. Tickets at the office of the Civic Secretary.

Saturday Noon, December 11 (Forum)

WHITING WILLIAMS

"WHAT IS ON THE WORKER'S MIND"

Luncheon, 1 o'clock

Whiting Williams left his job as personnel director with the Hydraulic Pressed Steel Company of Cleveland, to seek a job as an unskilled laborer, and worked in factories, mills, and mines in this country and abroad.

Monday Evening, December 13 (Forum)

S. K. RATCLIFFE

"WHAT IS HAPPENING IN ENGLAND"

Auditorium, 8 o'clock

Mr. Ratcliffe is a noted American correspondent of English newspapers. He has lectured all over America and thoroughly understands the present political and commercial situation in Great Britain and Europe. Perhaps better than any other lecturer he knows how to present information regarding Great Britain to American audiences. As Mr. Ratcliffe returned from England only last month, his talk will be up to the minute.

Dinner at 6 o'clock. Make reservations early.

THURSDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 16

Address by

Hon. JOHN BARTON PAYNE

(Secretary, Department of the Interior)

“The Threatened Invasion of Our National Parks”

Assisted by

HERBERT W. GLEASON

(WITH STEREOPTICON SLIDES)

Auditorium, 8 o'clock

GEORGE S. SMITH will preside.

This is the first visit to Boston which Secretary Payne has made since he became a member of the Cabinet, and his first appearance before the business men of this city. He is coming to us at considerable sacrifice of time from his official duties in Washington, because of the great importance of the subject he is to discuss, the threatened invasion of our National Parks and Monuments by private water power and irrigation interests. It is a vital topic, one which concerns us all, as it involves the principle of surrendering precious possessions held in trust for future generations.

An important part of the program will be a striking series of colored slides, shown by Mr. Herbert W. Gleason, an expert photographer and authority on the National Parks. Many of the pictures were made last summer for the purpose of showing the locations immediately involved in existing and pending legislation.

Dinner at 6 o'clock. Tickets at the office of the Civic Secretary.

Note. Beginning Monday, December 13, and continuing for four days, there will be a special exhibition of photographs and maps bearing on this topic, in the Art Gallery on the third floor.

Saturday Afternoon, December 18

Hon. MALCOLM E. NICHOLS

(Chairman, Rent and Housing Committee)

“ THE HOUSING PROBLEM ”

Luncheon, 1 o'clock

This is the first of a series of Saturday afternoon luncheon meetings at which local problems will be discussed by well-known Boston men. At this meeting Senator Nichols will present the work of the Mayor's Rent and Housing Committee, of which he is chairman, and discuss some of the problems involved. The luncheon will begin promptly at one o'clock, and following the talk by Senator Nichols there will be an opportunity for discussion. Those who are unable to attend the luncheon are welcome to come in for the talk and discussion.

Tickets at the office of the Civic Secretary.

Thursday Evening, December 23

Christmas Week

No Entertainment

Monday Evening, December 27 (Forum)

Professor D. D. VAUGHAN

“ AMERICAN IDEALS ”

Auditorium, 8 o'clock

A wide-awake, vigorous, two-fisted American, Professor Vaughan can look back on seven years as a newsboy in Chicago. He worked his way through school and college, and has done post-graduate work in sociology at the University of Chicago. Two years spent as Pastor in the parish back of the stockyards has given him extraordinary background for his present work as Professor of Social Service, Boston University.

The years spent living and working in the most congested districts of Chicago have added an invaluable practical experience to academic knowledge. His message is of gripping interest.

Dinner at 6 o'clock. Make reservations early.

Thursday Evening, December 30

STEPHEN LEACOCK

(Author, Humorist, Educator)

“FRENZIED FICTION”

Auditorium, 8 o’clock

WILLIAM C. CRAWFORD will preside.

Stephen Leacock, the noted humorist, has been called “the Canadian Mark Twain,” and is ranked by literary critics with the foremost humorists and satirists of the day. There is a delightful vein of keenest irony in practically all his books. He talks in the same easy, humorous style in which he writes.

In private life he is a college professor, head of the department of economics and political science at McGill University, Canada’s leading educational institution.

Dinner at 6 o’clock. Tickets at the office of the Civic Secretary.

FORUM DINNERS PROVING BIG SUCCESS

A most enthusiastic reception has been accorded the proposal made at the dinner preceding the opening Forum meeting, that Club members present their views on the subject of the evening’s talk. This plan was tried out with great success at the second Forum dinner. Attendance was largely increased and fifteen to twenty men responded to the Chairman’s call for three-minute speeches. The response at the third meeting was even more ready.

Not only has this given members an opportunity to express themselves, but it has indicated to the Forum speaker the particular points along which members were interested. Altogether the dinners have taken on new life, and as hesitation has passed away discussions have become more and more worth while, both to the three-minute man and to his listeners. Members are urged to take advantage of this opportunity to hear widely divergent, but always sane and interesting, discussions along the lines indicated by the subject of the meeting.

With the growth of these preliminary meetings it is found that reservations are not nearly approaching the total that sit down to the dinner. If care will be taken to inform the office of intention to be present, it will be of great assistance in making preparations.

ADDRESS BY HON. JAMES M. BECK

October 21, 1920

INTRODUCTION BY HON. DAVID JAYNE HILL

Mr. President, Gentlemen of the City Club, — I congratulate you upon the openmindedness of this wonderful club of seventy-five hundred members, the growth of which I have followed with great interest from the old building into your new palatial home, and I will not take your time with preliminary remarks.

I have the honor to introduce the orator of the evening. When the great war broke out, in 1914, the American public was in doubt with regard to the responsibility for that war. A distinguished jurist, statesman, and orator gave his attention to the examination of the evidence in the case, and he produced a work which had a prompt, a decisive effect upon the mind of multitudes of men. It is his characteristic, upon all occasions, to look for "the Evidence in the Case," and in addressing you, to-night, he will bring you a fund of knowledge derived not only from long study and careful examination, but from a recent visit to Europe where he has had excellent opportunities for observing the condition of Europe.

I need not dwell upon the qualities of the speaker of the evening. He is too well known to you for that. I have the honor of presenting to you the Hon. James M. Beck, of New York. [Applause, the members rising.]

HON. JAMES M. BECK

Dr. Hill, and Gentlemen of the City Club, — Let me first express my appreciation of the gracious introduction with which Dr. Hill has been good enough to commend me to the forbearance of the audience, and also for the great compliment which the City Club has done me, in inviting me in this most critical election to discuss the issues of the campaign from the Republican standpoint.

I shall address myself to-night almost wholly to that which seems to be the burning issue in the minds of most men, the League of Nations, with — following, perhaps, a pernicious example — a few personalities. [Laughter and applause.] In so doing I would not be understood by the most subtle implication to suggest to this audience that the League is either the only issue in this campaign, or even the greatest issue. On the contrary, while it has consumed the larger part of our thoughts in this campaign, and because it is a question about which men of equal patriotism and candor may reasonably differ, yet in my judgment there are far greater questions to which it will be impossible for me to make any allusion. Preliminarily, I cannot understand the sentiments of that body of Americans, including an infinitesimal fragment of the Republican party, who are more concerned with the participation of the United States in the constitution of a world state than they are in the preservation of their own Constitution. [Applause.]

Let me also premise three things: first, that the League of Nations ought never to have been made the subject of a popular referendum. It

is not adapted to any such referendum; and while I have no question as to the ultimate verdict of the American people, on the 2d of November, and have no question as to its moral significance with reference to that question, yet I freely recognize that the issues of this campaign are so complex and overlapping that no true referendum can be had upon this great question, as indeed under the genius of our government no referendum ought to be had, because most wisely the founders of the Republic left this great question of our foreign relations primarily to the President, and secondly and ultimately and definitely to the Senate of the United States. [Applause.]

In the second place, I premise that the League of Nations is infinitely above party politics, and that American statesman, whoever he may be, who has dragged it into party politics has a very heavy responsibility not only to this, but to all future generations. And, lastly, I premise that the question of a League of Nations can have nothing to do and cannot be justly affected by any personalities with reference to the merits or demerits of its proponents or opponents.

You may ask me this, — Why, having made the third and last premise, I shall notice the attacks that have been made in this state upon the distinguished senior Senator from the great state of Massachusetts, and to that I answer that, while Senator Lodge's merits or demerits can have no just place in the determination of the value of the League, yet, when he is subjected to the most virulent abuse, of which I have any knowledge in any recent political controversy, it is only decent justice to Senator Lodge that some one, especially in the vicinage where he is so well and favorably known, should say that which can be so justly said in his defense [applause].

What is the nature of the indictment against Senator Lodge? So far as Mr. Cox is concerned, it is that he is the author of the "most terrible conspiracy in the history of mankind," and that he is, to quote the official record of his speech, "the arch-conspirator in the greatest conspiracy against humanity" in all history, and, to quote the amplification of it, that he is "the basest conspirator in the history of humanity of the whole world" [laughter]. I don't wonder, with such an attack, that the temperature in Boston is abnormal for October [laughter and applause], for even hot air can affect a thermometer. But he went further, and charged that, wherever he had gone throughout the United States, the name of Senator Lodge, which he evidently had rolled as a sweet morsel under his tongue, had invariably been greeted with jeers and shouts of contempt. I will treat the second charge first, and answering it I will only say that the testimony would be more convincing with respect to Senator Lodge's alleged unpopularity in this country if it had come from one whose veracity had not suffered in this campaign so serious an impairment. [Applause.] Indeed, recalling the somewhat reckless character of Mr. Cox as revealed in this campaign, perhaps it is more accurate to say that he is quite honest in his description but not accurate in his application; that the shouts and jeers might have been directed to him when he attacked Senator Lodge, and not to Senator Lodge at all. [Applause.]

However, recurring to the more specific charge that Mr. Cox has made, we are told by a candidate of a great historic party for the highest office in the gift of the nation, that the distinguished Senator of the United States is by necessary implication baser than Herod, Judas Iscariot, Nero, Cæsar Borgia, Richard III, Louis XI, Benedict Arnold, and all others who are on the roll of infamy [laughter]. And all because Senator Lodge has ventured to differ from the President of the United States as to the means whereby an association of nations may be obtained; for, after all, the substantial difference is not the great objective, but rather the means whereby the objective shall be attained. Nevertheless, for that difference he is haled at the bar of the crowds that are gathering to hear Mr. Cox, as the "batest conspirator against humanity in all the history of the world." If Senator Lodge was only a private citizen he would have the constitutional right to differ from the President of the United States on constitutional issues, but when we know that he is a member of the United States Senate, charged with a solemn and sworn duty as a member of the Senate, to pass judgment on any great measure affecting our foreign relations which may be brought before the Senate, the fact that he has differed from the President in the matter of the particular League of Nations which Mr. Wilson brought from Paris would seem to be well within his rights.

However, I close that feature of my personalities with the single statement that if I had any doubts before, which I had not, of the singular unfitness of James M. Cox to hold the highest position in the gift of the people, these unjust and unmerited attacks show such a lack of all poise as to incapacitate him for an office where delicacy of administration requires a man who does not indulge in loose and vain talk. [Applause.]

However, Mr. Cox was not the only offender in the acrimonious personalities that have marked the climax of the campaign in this historic city. The Secretary of War came, and in language far more polished than Mr. Cox, nevertheless, made the same attacks against the senior Senator from Massachusetts.

I recognize the literary form, the grace of expression that marked Secretary Baker's speech in this city about a week or ten days ago, but it was again a studied attack upon the senior Senator from Massachusetts, and the very purpose of the attack was to convey the same impression that Mr. Cox with coarser words tried to convey, that Mr. Lodge had been the arch-conspirator of a fell conspiracy against the President of the United States and the welfare of mankind. Indeed, Mr. Baker, having reviewed at great length the history of the League of Nations controversy, said that perfidy could not go further than the action of Senator Lodge in opposing the peace treaty of the President of the United States.

Having inquired a little as to who James M. Cox is, let us inquire who is this last assailant of Senator Lodge within the walls of this historic city. If we are going to indulge in personalities, it is a game that two can play at, and let me suggest what was the situation in the first two years of the World War. I will quote from Secretary Baker's own

language in speaking of the situation which then presented itself. He says in his speech:

"The World War began in Europe in the fall of 1914."

That is a fact which he and his master did not speedily discover at that time [laughter and applause].

"Characterized by increased ferocity it daily became more terrible in its destruction of property and life. The whole world, civilized and uncivilized, became involved in the struggle. The industry of the world was diverted from peaceful pursuits into a means for the production of instruments of war. Old men and even women were drafted into great armies to replace the slaughtered youth of the old world. The bonds of social order were dissolved, and while battles slew thousands, pestilence and starvation did to death tens of thousands, most of them women and children, in most of the countries of the old world."

A terrible picture, drawn by a master of expression, but not one stroke overdone. Let me challenge this assailant of Senator Lodge to tell me, or the people of Boston, — during this early period of the most frightful calamity that ever overcame the world, between 1914 and 1916, when men were dying by thousands in defense of civilization, when neither he or his master ever uttered one sympathetic word, one generous word, in support of the Allies who were defending civilization [applause].

We know that this polished assailant, who charges Senator Lodge with stabbing President Wilson in the back, during that time was a pacifist, one of the intellectual Bolsheviks who surrounded the President and led him to his own undoing, in the generous estimation of the world. Never did he utter one single word which could be construed as sympathetic with the greatest cause for which men ever fought, but during that time he was echoing the words of his master, hearing his master's voice, — that "with the causes and objects of this war we had no concern, and its obscure fountains we are not even interested to explore." And after many hundreds of thousands had perished in the struggle to defend the bases on which civilization rests it was this same pacifist who, again echoing his master's voice, expressed his belief in the "peace without victory." It was he who, although it was clear to men of vision that at least we might and probably would, and perhaps inevitably must, be drawn into the war, never lifted a finger to prepare this country for the dread eventuality, but on the contrary boasted by his own words and through his press agent, Mr. Creel, that it was an occasion to thank God that we had gone into the war unprepared, although that lack of preparation caused many gallant American boys to die, not on the battlefield, but like flies with pneumonia in unprepared camps [applause].

I admit that the merits or demerits of Senator Lodge, or of Secretary Baker, or Governor Cox have very little to do with the issues. I shall try in all that remains of my subject to demonstrate not with personal references, but by that which I honestly believe to be indubitable proof, that if there was any conspiracy against the Constitution of the United States, Senator Lodge was not the conspirator, but, on the contrary, it was his inestimable privilege to be the chief defender of the Constitution. [Cheers and loud applause.] But, before I pass that, let me make one synthetic combination, that if you were to take James M. Cox and Mr.

Baker together and compound them into one individual and call him Mr. Cox-Baker, the compound would not be worthy of untying Senator Lodge's shoe latches [applause and cheers].

I am not here to enter into any encomium upon Senator Lodge. We are living too close to the great events and to the great men to accurately judge them. We cannot judge Senator Lodge fully, any more than when I stood on the steps of the Rheims Cathedral I could appreciate the height of the spires. But while that is so I am convinced, and I make it as a prophecy, that in the vista, twenty-five or fifty years from now, when a future generation of Americans looks back upon this most wonderful epoch in the world's history, and especially upon the great part that America played in it, the future generations will say that Massachusetts in the Senate rendered, in its long and glorious history as a great Commonwealth, two most significant services,—one, the defense by Daniel Webster of the integrity of the Federal Constitution against Hayne, and the other, the defense by Senator Lodge of the same Constitution against another assailant of its integrity [loud applause].

Let us get down to the actual facts of the case, which are always better than mere personal allusions. Let us do as Secretary Baker did, let us review the history of this covenant in order to see when the alleged conspiracy began and how far the conspiracy was anything more than an assertion of a Constitutional duty and a patriotic service in the Senate, in which Democratic as well as Republic Senator joined. Let it not be forgotten that at the very hour that Cox was denouncing Senator Lodge on historic Boston Common, by implication he was denouncing that brave Senator from Massachusetts, its junior Senator, who had the courage to put party prejudice behind him and join with many other Democrats in the Senate in supporting Senator Lodge's hands. [Applause.]

The League of Nations covenant, as drafted by Mr. Wilson, was conceived in the spirit of moral cowardice, and was born of an unworthy bargain. I speak plainly, and I hope you will not take offense. This is an open forum, as I understand it, the times are critical, and the only service a public speaker can render an audience is to say what he believes. And, therefore, if I offend the sensibilities of any, please bear with me because of the intense feeling I have as to the enormous importance of the issue involved.

When did Mr. Wilson first suggest a League of Nations? Let us go back to that time. On the first day of May, 1915, after the German Ambassador had warned the American people, over the head of the American President, not to travel on a passenger steamer on the high seas, which alone should have secured for him his passports, the *Lusitania*, with one thousand lives, was sunk. Thereupon, for the period of nearly eleven months there followed a series of notes, each increasing in weakness of expression. Instead of recognizing that a most terrible outrage had been committed against the women and children of America, and insisting upon its disavowal, there came this series of notes, month after month. Finally, in March of the following year, Germany sank a channel steamer, the *Sussex*, that was crossing the Channel, and again

destroyed the lives of a number of women and children, including some of our own Nationals. We now know, during 1916, at the very time that the White House was telling the people of this country to be patient, and that the President would vindicate the honor of this country by exacting a full disavowal from Germany, — when we were being lulled into a false security, the President directly, or more frequently indirectly through Colonel House, was in communication with Count Von Bernstoff, with a view to forcing a Peace Conference, which would have compromised the war and brought to naught the sacrifices of millions of lives. And if you read Von Bernstoff's "Three Years in America," you will find that when the message suddenly appeared, to the astonishment of everybody in Washington, for the first time suggesting a League, Von Bernstoff said that the League of Nations had been brought up to promote the mediation then being planned, not only behind the backs of the American people, but without the knowledge of the Senate, the prescribed partner of the President in his treaty-making powers. Whether Von Bernstoff is right in that or not, the League of Nations may then have been brought forth for the purpose of allaying the rising storm of indignation in this country at the outrages from the *Lusitania* to the *Sussex*.

In the summer of 1916, the Congress of the United States provided for a convening of an international convention to bring about the League. They provided in a way that would have been of great value, namely, that America should name, and every other nation should be invited to name, ten distinguished jurists and publicists who would meet somewhere and see if a practicable League of Nations could not be planned. However, to that very practical suggestion the President paid no attention.

In January, 1917, the President appeared before Congress and said, in a very famous speech, that he was willing that America — because America meant with him the pronoun I — that America should go into the League of Nations upon one condition, and one condition only. And what was it? It was that there was to be "peace without victory." I sometimes wonder that he could ever have penned the words. With a million Frenchmen dead on the battlefields of France, with nearly a million Englishmen who had at that time perished, at the very time that the Battle of the Somme was being fought, and England and France were pouring out the lives of their gallant youth to the extent of five thousand a day, it was at that time that our Government, which was "too proud to fight," said: "Yes, we will go into a League of Nations provided there is that preliminary condition, that there shall be 'peace without victory'; namely, a peace in which there would be neither victor nor vanquished."

It was at that time that the arch-conspirator came into this situation [laughter and applause]. Do not make the confusion which Mr. Baker did, or affected to do, namely, to confuse the difference between an agreement as to an objective and a possible agreement as to the means of attaining the objective. All this impeachment of Senator Lodge's sincerity amounts to this, that like all generous-minded men, and especially Americans, because we are all idealists, he did believe that if there were any way of procuring an association of nations that was properly constructed, that would bring about peaceful conditions in the

world, the experiment was worth the trial. But the means of attaining it is a different thing. I might agree with you that the object was a very desirable thing, but not necessarily agree with you as to the means of attaining a worthy object.

Mr. Wilson, having announced the condition upon which we would enter the League, Senator Lodge appears upon the scene for the first time and addresses himself to a concrete proposition. Up to that time it had been an abstraction. But now it was not an abstraction, and this President, who as Mr. Baker says consulted the Senate before, during, and after the war, had never consulted the Senate as to any such proposition as peace without victory. And when, therefore, the concrete proposition came up, Senator Lodge, speaking on February 1, 1917, scouted the idea that any peace could necessarily be secured by compromise. And thereupon he said this, referring to the proposed League for peace: "Are we prepared to commit ourselves to a purely general proposition without knowing where we are going or what is to be demanded of us, except that we shall be compelled to furnish our quota of military and naval force upon request of a League in which we have but one voice?"

The whole matter to him was a matter of detail, and I cannot stop to quote all his words. He urged that it would be unwise to entangle the question, of what would be done to make peace permanent after the conclusion of the present war, with the peace which was to terminate the war. That is the first statement, so far as I know, of any publicist of the immeasurable folly of intermingling the scheme of world government, however meritorious, with the practical details of a peace treaty.

A few months later, owing to the stupidity of the German Government in revoking its submarine pledges, we entered into the war. Some time followed, and again in December, 1918, Senator Knox, a former Secretary of State, took up the suggestion of Senator Lodge, and also reminded the President through a speech in the Senate that there was an existing resolution of Congress to call an association of nations, and to appoint ten distinguished publicists in order that the country conscience and intelligence should be most broadly represented. And in the course of that speech he said that he, Senator Knox, by his resolution did not intend to condemn in advance any League of Nations, and least of all the existing entente, or a permanent understanding of all English-speaking people. The object of this resolution was simply to postpone the larger question of some League of Nations, for that separate and more deliberate consideration that its nature demands, and that an act of Congress has already sanctioned. The English-speaking people and their Allies form a real league.

Following that speech, again the arch-conspirator appears upon the scene, and in a speech, on December 31, 1918, Senator Lodge criticized President Wilson's fourteen points and made the following reference to the League of Nations, which will show you that it was not the after-thought, as Secretary Baker says. Before giving that quotation, let me again only say, in reply to Mr. Baker's statement about the exceedingly open way in which the President took the Senate into his confidence, that when he proposed the fourteen points which committed America,

so far as he could, to the most world-wide program with respect to territorial and other adjustments, that not even the members of his own party knew of it until the words had fallen from his lips in the Senate. I happened to be in Washington at that time, making an argument in the Supreme Court. On that morning a distinguished Democratic Senator asked me to take him down in my car to the Capitol, and he said to me that the President was about to make an important address to the Senate. I said "Upon what subject?" He said "I think the question of railroad transportation." And then, to the amazement of this distinguished Senator, we suddenly had the fourteen points including the League of Nations propounded in the name of America, without asking the Senate in any way to express, formally or informally, its assent or dissent to such an ambitious program.

Moreover, I have reason to know that the then leader of the Democratic party in the Senate came over to a Republican leader in the Senate and said, "What do you think of it? The President is going to address Congress, and I, the Democratic leader in the Senate, have no idea of what he is to talk about." And yet he announced the most ambitious program in the history of America, on practically his own authority. Following the "fourteenth point" address, Senator Lodge made this speech:

"We have now at this moment a League of Nations. They have been engaged in compelling Germany to make peace and in restoring peace to the world, and the peace once signed must be carried out and made effective. Therefore, it is well to reflect that entering upon a new and larger League of Nations involves somewhat heavier responsibility and dangers which must be carefully examined and deliberately considered before they are incurred. The attempt now to form a League of Nations, by which I mean an effective league with power to enforce its decrees, can tend only to embarrass the peace that we ought to make at once with Germany." [Applause.]

"The attempt to tack provisions for a League of Nations to the treaty of peace now making with Germany would be to launch the nations which have been fighting Germany upon a sea of boundless discussion, the very thing that the German Government desires."

And Senator Lodge concludes, — "If the attempt was successful, and the League of Nations with the powers about which I have ventured to inquire vested in it were to come before the Senate, it might endanger the peace treaty, and force amendments; it certainly would lead to very long delays."

That was a fair statement, made before any of the acrimonious features of the League of Nations developed. However, the President had other ideas. He had made up his mind that, inasmuch as more than one third of the Senate was hostile to him, he would force the League of Nations through the Senate by means which violated the spirit as well as the letter of the Constitution itself, as I shall presently show. To do that he determined to have a solemn referendum. He determined to appeal to the American people in a manner which was so adroit that he felt that they could not ignore it. Let us recall the words of that famous

appeal designed to give him a proxy in blank to put through his league scheme in Paris. He said, "If you have approved of my leadership and wish me to be your unembarrassed spokesman in affairs at home and abroad, I earnestly request that you express yourself favorably to that effect by returning a Democratic majority in both the Senate and House of Representatives."

And then followed this delicious sentence: "I am your servant and will accept your judgment without cavil, but my power to administer the great trust assigned me by the Constitution would be seriously impaired should your judgment be adverse, and I must frankly tell you so because so many critical points depend upon your verdict. No scruples of taste must in grim times like these stand in the way of speaking the truth."

What did he mean by "unembarrassed spokesman?" Embarrassed by whom? Had the American people embarrassed him? The American people had "adjourned politics," as, however, its leader had not. They had adjourned politics to support the President as the chief executive of the nation. The people were not embarrassing him. He had determined that he would ignore and override the wise provisions of the Constitution, framed by the Fathers with full knowledge of the peril of one-man power, especially in foreign affairs. He was going to override it first by getting such a moral mandate that the Senate, however greatly it might think the sovereignty of the nation would be impaired, would be controlled, and secondly by the means, to which I shall presently refer. Having done that — who will ever forget it? — it was only a short time before the election and a great Republican leader, one of the most patriotic leaders of America, one whose white plume, like that of Henry of Navarre, was in the forefront of every great political struggle of this nation, of his time, Theodore Roosevelt [prolonged cheers and applause] took issue with him, and if there was an arch-conspirator it was that great man who sleeps in that little knoll at Oyster Bay, already a Mecca for patriotic Americans. It was not Senator Lodge, who had taken the position that a Senator of the United States had a right to take.

Is this a monarchy, that a member of the Senate, and a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, may not speak his mind when he sees his country headed for disaster? We would be a republic in name and not in fact if the time came when a member of the Senate, or even an unassuming private citizen, could not express an opinion of the policy of the President in the discharge of his duty to make treaties. But all that Senator Lodge had done in December, 1917, was to say, "Let us not entangle this peace treaty with the League of Nations, for fear of the unending delays that may come to pass." But Theodore Roosevelt did take up the challenge upon the issues, as to which the President wanted to be the unembarrassed spokesman of the people of this country and the people by a million majority, at the time when you would have thought that the prestige of the successful conclusion of the war would have led to a different result, gave their answer and said, — "No, you shall not be the unembarrassed spokesman!" [Applause.]

What happened? Did he accept the judgment without cavil?

No, he at once announced that, in the face of this adverse verdict, he personally was going to go to Paris, an unprecedented thing for the President of the United States to do. And — am I not right? — that not merely from the opposition party but from the entire American people, without respect to party, from his closest advisers, from his personal journalistic organs that sneeze whenever he takes snuff, — I mean the *New York Times* and *New York World*, — opposed his going to Paris. What was he going for? He had two issues. He had conceived the visionary idea that it would add immensely to his prestige in history if he could level down the naval power of England. That is what he meant by the “ freedom of the seas.”

The freedom of the seas meant to him a fifty-fifty navy, and I am quoting the words of his spokesman in England. I was in England through that time. I was in intimate social touch with some of the foremost men in England and France, and I know that they regarded the President’s coming with the greatest apprehension, because they believed that he would insist upon bringing disunion in Paris by insisting on what he called the freedom of the seas, which meant the leveling of the English Navy to the level of other navies. I saw the men in close touch with him, and they said to me, “ Will you not help in persuading your English friends that they ought to yield this point? ” I said, “ Certainly not; and I will give you my reason. I accord to England the right that I claim for America, that each of them as a self-respecting nation has a right to just such navy and just such army as it thinks its own interests require.” [Applause.]

The President, as you recall, sailed from New York, the predestined victim of this conspiracy, with chips on his shoulder, to bring about the League of Nations plus the freedom of the seas. It was announced, first, that he would land in England, and then it was announced, for what reason we know not, that he would not go to England at all. He landed in France, saw Clemenceau, and when he suggested his League of Nations, Clemenceau said, “ No.” He was the great, frank, outspoken, realistic statesman of the Paris Conference. It may be that he looked out for the interest of France, but that was his duty. He was the only man who then had the courage to say to President Wilson, “ France does not believe in your League of Nations.” Out of hundreds of publicists that I met in England, not ten per cent in the autumn of 1918 had faith in the feasibility of the League of Nations. There were a few who did. I remember Lord Robert Cecil made a speech favoring it, and it came as a great surprise because he was one of the few intellectuals who at that time had come out for Mr. Wilson’s League. Clemenceau said, “ No”; and Wilson announced that he would go to England.

He had conversations with Lloyd George, and out of that an understanding grew, and that is the point of my remarks, that while the League so far as Mr. Wilson was concerned, was conceived in the cowardice of trying to sidetrack the indignation of the American people because of the submarine outrages, it was born of a bargain made in England whereby Mr. Wilson abandoned the freedom of the seas with the jocose remark that it had not occurred to him that under his great League every nation would be at war and there would be no neutrals.

In our own country the storm was gathering, of which only the mutterings were heard abroad. I want to read you something that Mr. Wilson wrote as President of the University of Princeton, in his book, "Constitutional Government of the United States":

"The greatest consultative privilege of the Senate — the greatest in dignity, at least, if not in effect upon the interest of the country — is its right to a ruling voice in the ratification of treaties with foreign powers. The President really has no voice at all in the conclusions of the Senate with reference to his diplomatic transactions, or with reference to any of the matters upon which he consults it. He is made to approach that body as a servant conferring with his master, and of course deferring to that master. His only power of compelling compliance on the part of the Senate lies in his initiative in negotiation, *which affords him a chance to get the country into such scrapes*, so pledged in the view of the world to certain courses of action, that the Senate hesitates to bring about the appearance of dishonor which would follow its refusal to ratify the rash promises or to support the indiscreet threats of the Department of State."

In other words, the way to get the support of the Senate was to cause a scrape in which the country would be involved to such an extent that it could not emerge from it with honor. He attempted to do that. On January 25, at the first meeting of the Plenary Council, he offered a resolution that the League of Nations should be an integral part of the peace treaty. Remember, Senator Lodge had warned against it already; remember, that Senator Knox had warned against it, and the best sentiment of Europe accorded with those two Senators. Suppose that San Francisco at the time of the earthquake, when the dead were in the streets, when the buildings and débris were blocking the streets; when the wires, the water service, and lights were all destroyed; suppose, instead of removing the dead and restoring the appliances of civilized life and stopping the spread of disease owing to the death and pestilence, the wise men of San Francisco got together and said, "Let us first consider a new municipal charter for San Francisco" [laughter]. You would have said they were supremely foolish if they had done anything of the kind, and yet that which Mr. Wilson forced upon the Paris Conference was, I believe, a greater folly.

Europe was in a state of collapse. They had been driven to their knees by their own trouble and suffering. Victor and vanquished had gone down to unutterable ruin. The shadow of Bolshevism was creeping over the world. It was by no means certain that western civilization would survive the consequences of the war. Moreover, the twilight of the gods was beginning for western civilization, in the enormous social changes that were then impending, that made every city of Europe a powder magazine. There was only one thing to do, — make peace, and restore again the facilities of civilization, and give people a chance to live. It was a time when for five years production had run behind consumption, and while the people only imperfectly appreciated it because of the inflation of money, yet it was beginning to slowly dawn upon people that there was a limited supply of commodities, and that actual scarcity if not starvation was menacing Europe. There was never a

time when it was so inopportune to construct the scheme for world government, even if otherwise desirable. And it was notorious that Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and others realized this, and did not want to do that which the President demanded at the initial session, namely, that written into the front of the treaty should be this League of Nations. Why? Because he did not believe that the Senate of the United States would have the courage to defeat the peace treaty if the League was in it, and therefore he wanted to create a situation which practically destroyed the free hand of the Senate, just as he had said years before was the thing to do for the President of the United States who wanted to override the Senate.

They wrote it in, and the scheme of world government having been framed, we know not by whom except that Mr. Wilson did not frame it, and it was framed in that way that I will presently describe, that section of the Plenary Council was called to consider it, and it was important that President Wilson bring that home for its effect on public opinion. And I want to tell you a story that a distinguished foreign diplomat from one of the lesser European states told me last summer. I cannot tell you his name because that would be a breach of confidence, but if there is a doubt about it I will mention it to Dr. Hill. This foreign minister of the lesser European state was at the Plenary Council meeting that dealt with the League of Nations. President Wilson was in the chair. The session was opened by Leon Burgeois, who was one of the few Frenchmen that believed in the League, who rose and said in substance: "I suppose, in conformity with the custom of similar gatherings, we will first discuss the principles that underlie the situation, and then we will take up any draft in its concrete form." President Wilson snapped back, "Certainly not. We will begin with Article 1. Mr Secretary, read Article 1." And the diplomats there present were amazed at the arbitrary process by which it was jammed through. I do not pretend to give exact language, but the substance of the incident.

Having obtained his first draft of the League, and with a rising storm in America, he returned to America and made a futile attempt to convince America that his League, which impaired the sovereignty of the United States and merged it into an international state, was just. He failed to convince them.

Mr. Baker and Mr. Cox in their speeches base their argument on the fundamental premise that the Senate had no right to interfere with the President of the United States, but must accept his foreign policies as the last note of both righteousness and judgment. My friends, if there was one thing that the founders of this Republic were concerned about it was the foreign relations of this government. They never believed that the liberties of the American people were safe if the control of foreign relations was vested in any one man. At first they determined that the Senate should have exclusive power not only over all treaties, but over all appointments, so that the President would be merely a servant of the Senate.

But, as the Senate is not always in session, they devised the wise provision that a President could make treaties "by and with the advice of

the Senate." It is not tautological, — by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. And while the advice has been more formal in recent years, the Constitutional principle is imbedded in our Government that, formally or informally, the President in all great matters affecting treaties, should take the judgment of the Senate before he has committed them to something which he has reason to suspect they will refuse to sanction. In what, then, is it treason or base conspiracy for the Senate of the United States, or for Senator Lodge in the performance of his sworn duty, to say to a President of the United States in respect to a plan for a league of nations, "We don't agree that this method is the right method to reach the great objective."

What followed then? The President determined that the great appropriation bills had not been passed, that the wheels of reconstruction and industry should stop rather than that the Senate should be in session to give him advice. And therefore, although it embarrassed the country in a critical and vital way in the progress of economic reconstruction, he waited until after Congress had expired by limitation, and on March 4, 1919, then refused to call it into session, in order that the views should be stilled for the time being. And the last day of that session Senator Lodge offered a resolution to this effect: that it is the sense of the Senate that the negotiations on the part of the United States should immediately be advanced with the utmost expedition of the urgent business of securing peace for the United States and the nations with whom the United States is associated in the war against Germany, and that then the proposals for securing the peace of the world could be taken up for careful consideration.

Having offered that wise resolution which accorded with the best thought of Europe, as I have good reason to know and as all subsequent public statements have shown, it was stifled in committee. The Democrats were then in control of the committees of the Senate, and they refused to allow the passage of that resolution advising the President that it would be better first to make peace with Germany and to thereupon consider the League of Nations. Hadn't they a right to do it? In what was the base conspiracy? Was it not their duty to do it if they felt that when the matter came before them they could not give it sanction? What happened when it was in committee of the Senate? The Senate adjourned, and the President refused to call Congress again.

Why the famous round robin, so-called? I hate the term, because it is invidious. It implies a thing which will fail to show who was the ringleader in a given case. This was not a round robin. The 39 Senators of the United States, all of them Republicans, — and they did not ask the Democrats although some were willing to sign it, inasmuch as their attempt to advise the President before it was too late had failed, because it was stifled in Congress, — determined in a formal document to put down their opinions and relieve their conscience by stating that it was most unwise to embarrass the peace treaties with the League of Nations.

What did the President do? Speaking in the Metropolitan Opera House he said in the most arrogant way, with his face toward the Senate, that the Senators will find the covenant not only in the treaty, but so

many threads of the treaty tied to the covenant that they cannot dissect the treaty from the covenant without destroying the whole vital structure. In other words, he was going to get the country into such a scrape as it had never been before, — and, please God, will never be again [applause].

He returned to France. In the meantime the wise statesmen of Europe said, "We cannot affront a great body like the United States Senate, which we know is the President's partner in making treaties"; and thereupon they determined to do that which Lodge and Knox had wisely recommended. They determined that they would negotiate an immediate peace with Germany, and then they would take up the League of Nations; and when the President landed at Brest he found an authoritative statement that such was the program of his associates. What did he do? He rushed to Paris, had an interview with Lloyd George which lasted for three long hours. He came out with a smile on his face, but they came out with dejected faces, as you can well imagine, for once again with the economic power of this country behind him, he had compelled them to acquiesce in his determination; and when it was announced, Pichon, the French Foreign Minister, was so indignant that he came out with a statement taking issue with the President. And when that was learned, the statements which he had given to the press, before they could be made public, were suppressed; and in that way the second fatal blunder of the Peace Conference was made, a blunder which it is only justice to say was the fault of one man, because it was that one man who insisted, at the peril of wrecking the peace of the world, that he would have his way of writing the League of Nations into the treaty of peace. And so, finally, came the great scene in the Plenary Conference, when a treaty of eighty thousand words was submitted to the members of the Conference, about twenty-four hours before, and when it came up before the Conference there were a number of protests. The French Premier had told the President that he did not believe in the League. Marshal Foch, the supreme commander of the Allied Armies, one of the great commanders of modern history, under whom we would all have fought, made a protest, and that very protest was suppressed just as many facts were suppressed. No one in this country has ever read it to this hour, because of the drastic censorship which prevented Americans from having the truth about Paris, and prevented the French from knowing the truth about America, because even the fact of our elections in 1918 was kept for a time from the knowledge of the French people. That is the way the open covenants were openly arrived at [laughter and applause].

There were a number of protests, and Clemenceau thereupon said, "The Chair hearing no objection, the treaty of peace is adopted." And Colonel House is said to have remarked as he left the Council that a Democratic convention in Texas could not have done any better than Clemenceau did [laughter].

That is the history of the League of Nations controversy, and I want briefly to tell you in what respect the covenant, however it was adopted, is fatally wrong in principle. It will not take long, and I trust you will indulge me for a little while more [applause].

I have made this long preliminary statement, not because it affects

in itself the wisdom or the value of the covenant; I concede it does not. It may be the wisest thing that the statesmen of the world have ever evolved, even though the method may be bad. But, nevertheless, I tell it to you for two reasons, and that is that it creates a grave constitutional crisis, for if the President can in this way override the judgment of the Senate, he has very largely nullified one of the noblest and wisest provisions of the Constitution, and that is what I meant when I spoke of that little band of so-called Republicans, some of them real Republicans, who have wandered from the fold, who are moved by the highest considerations of duty, — and I claim for them the same high motives that I claim for myself, — yet I say to them that inasmuch as the Senators have rejected this covenant, and the repudiation of them was in your name by Republican and Democratic Senators in defeating a League which was thus sought to be forced down the throats of the American people, I say that not to sustain the Senate would be almost equivalent to the House of Commons sanctioning the act of Cromwell when he entered the House on a famous occasion, and flouted it by saying, "Take away that bauble."

I have narrated in great detail many things which you know and I have only mentioned them for this fact, that a charge of base conspiracy has been made against the senior Senator of Massachusetts, and the conspiracy is said to be against the welfare of the United States and of humanity. I have told you what occurred, and I have told you that Senator Lodge's attitude was consistent from beginning to end, and that he only did what he did under his sworn duty as a Senator of the United States [applause]. As the leader of the opposition, — I don't say the Republican party, but the opposition in this great issue in the Senate, — he had a very trying task. He had divergent elements, ranging under his own banner. He had as leader to have a fair regard for the views of others, and he assented to things to which I would not assent because I am against Mr. Wilson's covenant, with or without reservation [applause].

Senator Lodge led a most difficult fight, with wonderful sagacity, with superb leadership, and with great moral courage, and although a speaker ought never to repeat himself, I say again in the light of all that I have told you, that not since Webster defended the integrity of the Union against the assault of Hayne, has a Senator from Massachusetts rendered a greater service to our country. [Applause.]

I am going to tell you now why I am against this League, with or without the Lodge reservations. I will make it very brief because it is simpler than we think. I shall not discuss Article 10. It has been be-thumbed and read until the merits of that question are beyond dispute of reasonable men. Even the proponents of the League in America, and men like Lord Robert Cecil, as I have reason to know, were absolutely opposed to Article 10, and it was put into the League as Mr. Wilson's sole contribution to that immortal document.

What is my objection to the League? The thing is fundamentally unsound for two reasons.

In the first place, it contradicts the basic principles of civilization.

In the last analysis it contradicts the very principle for which the World War was fought, and for which millions of lives were sacrificed. There was a great principle in the World War, which was the political equality of nations great or small. Austria said to Serbia, "Do this; we are great and you are little. Sign here on the dotted line." Serbia said, "Let us refer it to the concert of powers."

Austria said, "No."

Serbia said, "Let us refer it to a convention."

Austria said, "No."

Serbia said, "Give us time to think."

Austria said, "No."

Serbia said, "Leave it to Germany and France."

Austria said, "No, you will do as we say. We are great and you are little."

Belgium went into the war. What was the cause? Germany said "We only want to cross your territory; we won't hurt you. We want you as our friend. We won't take an inch of your territory but we want your friendship. We are friendly to you and will not hurt you."

Belgium said, "No, we cannot do that."

Germany said, "You must do it; we are great and you are small."

The very effect of the ultimatum was, — You are little, and you have no right that you are entitled to have respected. And I was in Belgium last summer and had the great honor and privilege of an interview with King Albert, and I said to myself, "There is one of the great heroes of humanity" [applause]. There is a man that had the courage of his conviction, and when Germany threatened his crown he said, "We are little. We have only 150,000 men to your 1,500,000, the greatest military machine in the world, but, by the living God, Belgium has its equal rights, and we will not yield." [Applause.]

How, then, does this League offend that great principle for which, as I say, so many millions of men died. The League makes a most odious and indefensible division of foreign nations into four classes. In the first place, it creates five nations as a kind of "Big Five," and gives them a perpetual tenure of power. They are not affected by anybody, or dependent upon anybody. They are chosen for all time to be a majority of the Council. The first class, as you know, included Great Britain, France, Japan, Italy, and the United States. Next come four nations,—Spain, Greece, Belgium, and Brazil,—who are members of the Council but who are liable from time to time to be removed by the Assembly. Then come the representatives in the Assembly, who represent all nations but whose power is so nominal, although some of them are historic nations with a thousand years of glorious victory behind them, and have just as much pride as the greatest nation of the earth, and they are reduced to vassalage, as the mere members of a debating society, as President Wilson called it.

Then there is the fourth class, those who voluntarily or involuntarily are not members of the League, but are yet subjected to its drastic power. Do you question that? Let me read it and you will see how cunningly this thing has been drafted, to put this thing in the hands of the Big Five.

Article 17 says:

"In the event of a dispute between a member of the League and a state which is not a member of the League, or between states not members of the League, the state or states not members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles 12 to 16, inclusive, shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council."

Now, let us see what kind of invitation it is. The next clause but one, says:

"If a state so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a member of the League, the provisions of Article 16 shall be applicable as against the state taking such action."

In other words, if thirty-nine nations should, *ipso facto*, be at war with any nation not a member of the League, or who did not want to get into the League, if this non-member decides that he has a little quarrel, he may decide that he will adjust it with his neighbor. Now, we are in the fourth class. And let us see where that leaves us [laughter]. Suppose we got tired of the constant depredations across the Rio Grande, and suppose we say, in the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine, "We don't want Geneva or the other nations, some of whom are large creditors of Mexico, to mingle in this quarrel. We are going to do a little police duty, and cross the Rio Grande and put an end to anarchy in Mexico."

Now, suppose that Mexico is a member of the League and it appeals to the Council, and the Council then sends an invitation, inviting the United States to come into this world League in order to adjust its little matter with Mexico, and we thereupon say to these eight very estimable gentlemen in Geneva, "We can adjust this little dispute with our neighbor."

What is the result? Automatically, thirty-eight nations are in a state of war, under Article 16, with the United States, if they carry out their obligation, which they would not think of doing, and they would suspend all economical and financial intercourse, and even human intercourse with us; and, moreover, the thirty-nine nations might be called upon to give their quotas of armies and navies to fight the United States. That is the trouble. So you see there are these four classes. You or some one will say, "What difference does it make? They all have one vote. What matters it? Isn't there equality?" But the trouble is the fourth class does not have a vote; and, in the second place, you cannot say that the votes of the members of the Assembly — who can only vote upon a few, unimportant factors chiefly electing minority members of the Council — is equal to the Council in whom virtually the plenary power of civilization is vested. My fellow-citizens, you cannot create a League of Nations upon the false foundation of a discrimination between sovereign nations. You cannot do it. [Applause.]

No league was ever based upon such a condition. If it were, it was not a league, but was an offensive and defensive alliance, camouflaged

under the name of "League." But it is not the true League of Nations when you start with making little children of some thirty-odd states of the world, carrying them in leading strings, and then expecting them to be satisfied with a state of vassalage which is in itself servitude. I have some reason to believe that the little states of Europe are already in revolt against any such principle. There has not been an edict of the League of Nations to which any respect has been paid in the year that they have been in operation; the fact is, that the League of Nations at this hour is moribund and impotent in moral authority, and I challenge any one in the year or more of its existence to show one single thing it has done, in adjusting the larger issues of war and peace, that gives any indication of its efficacy. The old concert of nations at which we sneered kept the peace, almost until the breaking out of the World War, and would have kept it then if Germany had not revolted against its authority. No, the trouble with the League is that you have put into five nations a power which is greater in tenure and greater in its potentiality than the powers of even the four majority members of the League, and you have doomed it to the inevitable charge of having offended the basic principle which marks the comity of nations. "Well," you say, "what difference does it make? They have to be unanimous in any event. Supposing their votes are not united. They have to be unanimous."

Unanimous? Why, if there was a potent strength in the League, the rule of unanimity would defeat it. There may be unanimity in Heaven. There was not unanimity when Satan rebelled against Heaven and fell nine days without stopping. But, at any rate, there is no rule of unanimity on this world. And on this world where unanimity has not been the standard, there are such influences running back thousands of years that when they try to standardize humanity into such a synthetic result as to justify unanimity in decisions, then you have drawn a draft on unity so great that I doubt if any one would be responsible for it.

What happened in Paris? There was every reason for unanimity. First, there were the seventy. They met, and it was thought that at least the Golden Age of the world was here. Little and great would present their grievances at the bar of the nations, and the federation of the world was here. Then they found that seventy could not work together, and they reduced it to ten. Then ten got together, and they were none too harmonious; and it was suggested that after all, it better be five. Then the five met,—Great Britain, France, United States, Japan, and Italy,—and then Japan got offended and it withdrew. Then President Wilson offended Orlando, and Italy withdrew. Then Mr. Wilson withdrew, and as a result of what transpired here the proceedings in Paris interested him no more, to quote Bret Harte, and he did not return. That left France and England represented by Millerand, Clemenceau, and Lloyd George, and last summer Millerand and Lloyd George were at odds on nearly every question of international policy, and the rift in the entente was so manifest that nobody attempts to control it.

If seventy delegates shrunk to the irreducible minimum, the rule of unanimity is not so very compelling. But if the rule of unanimity is to

be the great assurance of success, how is this rule of unanimity to manifest itself? It only refers to formal decisions that go on the records but not to the informal actions that the Council of nine may take, that they do not want to go on the record. But, independent of that, how is the rule of unanimity to avail the United States against the consequences of this League when its voice is voted by one man? The Council meets in Geneva and you are a member of the League. We will assume that Colonel House is the member of the Supreme Council, and a great question arises, whether we will go to the relief of Poland. Marshal Foch is brought in, and he says, "We need a million and a half men." Millerand arises and says, "I move that the League take action under the provision to raise an army of one million and a half men, in proportion to population, and also contributions of money proportionate to the wealth of the several countries, and we will proceed to down the Bolsheviks. I call for a vote on the resolution."

Suppose Colonel House votes Yes. Isn't America bound? Has not the unanimity been complied with? The rule of unanimity does not mean that the United States, back of the personal representatives at Geneva, shall take some organic action. Not at all. It means that the human beings all representing the nations in the Council at Geneva shall vote Yes or No on the proposition. If they are unanimous it binds the Council. If they are not unanimous, except in certain cases, it does not bind the Council and therefore the destinies of 110,000,000 people in the vital matter of peace and war depend on the vote of one human being who might not even be nominated by and with the advice of the Senate, although, even if he were, it would not make any difference because the wisdom of our fathers said from the beginning, and it will always remain, that the destinies of this country in the matter of peace and war shall never rest in the discretion of one man. [Applause.]

So that the rule of unanimity does not answer the question as to the relation between sovereign states.

I shall refer to one more fundamental objection, and then I shall cease to trespass upon your patience. I think that the full scope of this League has not yet been grasped by the American people. If it were, there could never be a question as to whether it is a superstate. It is not only a superstate, but the most powerful superstate that was ever sought to be created in the history of mankind to my knowledge; and I will prove it, I believe, in a moment. I am referring to the jurisdiction of the superstate and to the power within the jurisdiction, and that is not adequately appreciated by the American people in my humble judgment. Is it a superstate? What do you mean by a superstate? Suppose you gentlemen on the front row met at the City Club to discuss matters of common benefit to the city of Boston, and each day you think of some fruitful and good thing to do. That is not a superstate, nor is it an entity. Each of you reserves the fullest liberty of action to do as you please. You confer, but you may not participate in the result of your conference. But suppose you gentlemen go to your proper official in Massachusetts and create a corporation, and you agree that you will do certain things with that corporation, in the matter of contribution of

money, and property; and whatever the board of directors do shall bind you as stockholders of the corporation, because all that you do will be to elect the directors and ratify their acts when asked so to do. But otherwise your powers are very limited.

Now, that is a superstate; we call it a corporation, and it is an entity. There is just the same difference between nations. If a group of nations met, as they did at the Hague, and they say, "We meet here for common conference, and, wherever we can agree on it, common concert of nations. We will formulate the great principles of common concert and we will do many things, resting the sanction upon the conscience of mankind and the public opinion of the world, but reserving to every nation full liberty of action with reference to whether it will or will not participate in any common action of the governments."

That is a true association of nations, — call it an entente if you will, — and I believe under present conditions of thought the entente is far and away a more feasible thing than a coercive superstate. But let these nations agree to form a superentity, with coercive power to say to those nations, "You do this," or to do it themselves without asking the constituent states to do it, but doing it themselves of their own volition. Then you have a superstate.

Let us see, now, whether this is a superstate. Don't take my word, but take the language of the document, and if you see any other reading than the one I give you, I shall be surprised. What is the jurisdiction of this superstate?

"The Council," says Article 4, "may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world." The Council may deal with any matter that affects the peace of the world. That runs the whole gamut of human life; and to show that that was not a slip of the draftsmen, Article 11 says:

"Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League."

That is what they mean by dealing with any matter which affects the peace of the world. That is the jurisdiction, unlimited; and now what is the power within the jurisdiction? Listen to these words:

"And the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations."

Why, there never was any such grant of power, in the history of man, as that. I appeal to any members of the historic bar of Boston who may be here: Tell me, if that had been written into your Federal Constitution, what would have become of the rights of the state? Suppose in the very front of the Federal Constitution it had said, "Congress may deal with any matter that affects the peace of the United States, and may take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of the United States." Such a power would be the destruction of all the reserved rights of the state, just as this power is. What do they mean by "any action"?

"Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13, or 15, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed

to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking state, and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking state and the nationals of any other state, whether a member of the League or not."

And then it says:

"It shall be the duty of the Council in such cases to recommend to the several governments concerned what effective military, naval, or air force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used in support of the League."

And then follows the clause to protect the covenants of the League, and then the clause:

"The members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures . . ."—
what a euphemism for the expenses of war!—

" . . . and shall allow their territories to be used for the passage of armies of conceivably the whole world in order to coerce some nation which is not a member, or if a member, does not like that which the councils of the nations at Geneva, comprising only nine out of forty-four, have been pleased to do."

Can you imagine a more sweeping grant of power than that? And yet you tell me it is not a superstate. It is the most powerful superstate since the time of Cæsar, if the Council dare carry out one one-thousandth part of their power.

What can they do? What could they have done last summer when the Bolsheviks were at the door of Moscow? They could say, This menaces the peace of the world, and we are authorized to take any action we deem wise. We call for such contribution of armies and navies, and air force, and such contribution to the common war chest. And every little while we would become more and more impressed with this marvelous covenant to promote peace automatically on a bigger scale than has ever been known in the history of the world.

I could give you a dozen more reasons why I am against the League, with or without reservation. It only remains to say this: Do not when you go home, lie awake at night wondering about the consequences of the League. Our Ambassador to England, my good friend John W. Davis, said in New York a few nights ago that the League was a going concern. It *is a going concern* [laughter]. It is going so fast that it will soon reach the point of utter invisibility. It has been in existence, next month, a year and a half. Its secretariat has been in existence a year. Its Council has had nine sessions in ten months. It has had ample clinical opportunities. There are nine wars being fought on sixteen different fronts. There are five civil wars now in progress in civilized nations, and I am not counting the war that we are waging without the sanction of Congress in Hayti and San Domingo. The

world never had a better opportunity to study war. To-day, in front of the Russian boundary, between it and Poland, more men are fighting than fought at any time in history before the first battle of the Marne. France is increasing its armies. England does not desist from its preparations, in the idea that this wonderful League may bring peace. Even our great and good friend Mr. Daniels boasts that in 1923 America will have the greatest navy in the world. And so this League truly is a "going concern," and is the most transparent fraud upon the credulous hopes of mankind of which I have any knowledge. [Applause.]

It is impotent to-day. And it is for that you are asked to sacrifice the independence of this country,—for if we participate in it we would impair our independence. We are asked to surrender the most sacred traditions of the country. We are asked to put aside and forget that which the founders of the Government said, in the noblest state document ever issued in the annals of the world. I tell you, in the last analysis, this mighty struggle is an issue between George Washington and Woodrow Wilson, and that when the election returns are counted it will appear, thank God, that once again the immortal spirit of George Washington has been triumphant. [Cheers and applause.]

At the dinner preceding the address by Mr. Beck, the following were introduced by Dr. Hill: Robert Lincoln O'Brien, Louis A. Coolidge, and James T. Williams, Jr.

LUNCHEON TO VICE-PRESIDENT-ELECT CALVIN COOLIDGE

November 3, 1920

INTRODUCTION BY PRESIDENT GEORGE H. ELLIS

Mr. Coolidge, Guests to the right of me, Guests to the left of me, Guests in front of me and behind me, and Fellow-Members of the Boston City Club,—We have arranged this informal luncheon to pay our respects to the next Vice-President of the United States [cheers and applause]. He is one of our own members, don't forget that! It is a member of the Boston City Club that the American nation has elected by an enormous majority to the second office in this United States [applause]. We have a right to look to him for more than we have been in the habit of looking for from our Vice-Presidents [applause]. If we understand Mr. Harding aright, he proposes to make Mr. Coolidge the junior member of the firm of Harding & Coolidge [applause], in carrying on this government. What a change! [Laughter, applause and cheers.]

We are here as non-partisans [laughter and applause]. There is not a man in this room, however, whether he voted for our Vice-President or not, who does not to-day stand back of him and his record [applause]. We are late, the occasion for which I cannot quite understand; but in apologizing for it I hope that our new member of the state government with somewhat progressive tendencies, who sits on my left [Lieu-

tenant-Governor-elect Fuller] will not blame the state government but rather the City Club [laughter].

One of our Boston daily newspapers not of the Republican party says this of Governor Coolidge:

“There can be no question that his name and fame added very measurably to the strength of the Republican ticket. Such is the power of a man whom the people have come to know as the courageous and able public servant of a great Commonwealth.” [Prolonged cheers and applause.]

That is Governor Coolidge, the next Vice-President of the United States.

[As Governor Coolidge rose to speak, the members stood and applauded and cheered him to the echo. The repeated demonstrations and outbursts of applause were such as have seldom if ever been witnessed in the clubhouse.]

ADDRESS OF VICE-PRESIDENT-ELECT CALVIN COOLIDGE

Mr. President, Gentlemen of the Boston City Club,—It is exceedingly kind of you to assemble here in such number to give me and my associates the greeting that you have extended to us. I noticed that I had an invitation to attend a Victory Luncheon. Seeing that it was written some time ago I thought it was taking somewhat of a chance [laughter], but as I have investigated it I have found that it was not taking any chance, because it was to celebrate the victory of the President of your Club [laughter and applause]. That is always in order, no matter how political elections happen to go.

I don't know that I can explain the result of yesterday's election. It is of such an enormous character that no one can yet fully comprehend it. They refer to the man that only gets elected by 70,000 or 80,000, in the newspapers, as having a “narrow margin” [laughter], because all things are comparative. But it was the exhibition of a surprising unanimity on the part of the American people, of a desire to take hold of their own government themselves, to have a hand in running it, to have something to say about it [applause and cheers] in addition to merely making out tax returns [laughter] and paying taxes.

Our people have been exceedingly patient under the trying conditions that have confronted the country now for several years; but they are by nature an independent people, who want to live their own lives and work out their own destinies. They appreciate help and suggestions from the Government, but they don't like intermeddling with all their daily affairs and an officious in-day-and-out examination of all their business activities. They want to get rid of that, if they can. We have had a time of great expenditures; but the people were prepared to make great sacrifices, and I doubt very much if they are going to complain about that. They would like to see now their money expended in a way that will insure them a full and adequate return for the sacrifice they make in raising it and paying it.

I think the election demonstrated one thing, and that is the great and over-mastering attachment of all American people to the fundamentals of our Constitution [applause]. They have such a confidence in it that whenever they lack a knowledge of what to do, whenever they are beset with perplexities, they want to return to its provisions and live under it, and live by it and be governed in accordance with it.

Of course America expects to play her part among the nations of the earth [applause], not in any narrow and provincial way, but in a broad and generous way, as we have been doing especially in the past few years, to meet our share of the burdens of civilization. Is there any other nation on earth to whom is due so much money from foreign nations as to the United States of America? Is there any other nation that is willing to take up the burdens of civilization and carry them on whenever the call comes, to a greater extent than has been manifested time and time again by the people of this nation of ours?

They want to look after America because they believe that looking after America is the first duty of all Americans [applause]. And because they believe more than that, that unless that is done the hope of civilization will fade away, — for unless we can maintain ourselves and our freedom and our independence, and our ability to meet the expenditures of our government, there is not any hope that any other people anywhere on earth can meet that great burden.

So that we are serving America and serving it to the extent of our great ability when we look after the welfare of everything and everybody that is American, and I think that you can depend on the incoming Administration to adopt that, at all times, as a fixed and settled policy [applause]. I think you will find it possessed of a broad and tolerant outlook. Unless I have misunderstood greatly the expressions that have come all through the campaign from our splendid leader, Senator Harding [cheers and applause], he is a man that is marked peculiarly by the characteristic of an open mind. He desires counsel in order that he may thereby seek for guidance. He desires the help of those who are constitutionally chosen to help administer the government, and he desires it not for a selfish or personal reason, but in order that he may better perform the duties of that great office which he is taking up. I know that he wants not merely your support, but he wants your sympathy, and he wants that characteristic that has marked him to also mark the people of the United States. As he is open-minded, and as he takes their counsel, so I feel that he wants them to take his counsel in order that, working together, all may bring about the welfare of this nation of ours.

I want to thank you, Mr. President, for inviting me here. It will be a consolation to me, it will be an inspiration to help carry on the burdens of the office that you have entrusted to me in the past, and to take up with a lighter heart the greater burdens that you have helped to entrust to me in the office that I am to fill in the future. [Prolonged applause, the members standing.]

PRESIDENT ELLIS. We have had not only a national but a state election, and the figures are about alike in both cases. Our majority

for the new Governor of the state is practically the same as that for the national ticket. Governor Coolidge has more than once in my hearing stated the value of the service of the next Governor, while he has been Lieutenant-Governor, to him and to the causes for which he stood. We know those, and some of us know as well as the Governor states it the real value of the service of the Lieutenant-Governor, who is to be Governor in January, — Mr. Cox [applause and cheers].

GOVERNOR-ELECT CHANNING H. COX

Mr President, Fellow Members of the City Club, — I am happy to be invited to come here to join with you to-day in rejoicing in the great honor that has come to one whom you love and whose friendship I cherish, — Governor Calvin Coolidge. [Applause.] And I hope that I may be pardoned if I take the opportunity to say just one word of a personal nature, and to tell you, my fellow-club members, that I hope that I may follow in the steps where he and his great predecessors have led, and to hold high his standard of Massachusetts, and to try to bring about among all our people more and more the spirit which pervades this club, where each cares for the other, where each appeals to the best in the other, where each realizes that he is dependent on the other, and where all are devoted to the common weal. [Applause.]

PRESIDENT ELLIS. I know you would never forgive me if I did not call upon one whose record for the past year or two has been one of strenuous work, endeavoring to carry out the principles of the Constitution of the United States, as he sees them; and who, beginning some months ago with a considerable minority of the people of the United States behind him, has brought this country to a stand where a tremendous majority of the people, as shown by this election, are supporting Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. [Cheers and applause.]

UNITED STATES SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE.

Mr. President, Gentlemen of the City Club, — I thank you very sincerely and very deeply for the kindly warmth of your greeting. I want to begin with an original remark, so I will say that there was an election held yesterday [laughter], and it would seem that the Republican party has carried the United States [laughter]. I think that observation complies with Emerson's much recommended quality of the "force of under-statement."

Before I go into some of the larger aspects, and I am going to say a few words very briefly about them, there are some immediate pleasures in the result. One is that the newspapers will no longer feel it necessary to publish daily the pleasant irony and sarcasm of Governor Cox of Ohio [laughter and applause], nor the deductions from the sum of human misinformation to which his associate, Mr. Roosevelt, has been giving daily utterance. We shall be spared those I think, temporarily at least [laughter], and that is something we ought all to be grateful for, because it reduces the sum of burdens in the world [laughter].

But, seriously, we have won a victory of proportions so large that I confess I have not yet grasped it. And let us bear in mind that it is distinctively an American victory at the polls. I do not under-rate the services of my own party, and we furnished the organization, we furnished the instrument as we did in the Civil War, as we did in the great contest over free silver. But we were sustained and upheld by thousands of voters who have not been in the habit of voting with us, but who voted with us this time because they realized that we were standing for American principles.

When you consider that the Republican party carried the city of Boston by over 30,000 majority, and carried Greater New York, according to the figures this morning, by over 400,000 majority, you can see what wide support the Republican party drew to itself. And I am very proud as a Republican that we should have been able to so present our case and so represent the great principles at stake that all patriotic men, — not all, but many patriotic men, —without regard to party lines came to our assistance.

It is a peculiar pleasure, of course, to us here in Massachusetts, that we should have elected our distinguished Governor, who holds a place in popular feeling throughout the United States, owing to his courageous, wise action of last year, which has made his name known in every corner of this country.

Governor Coolidge has been elected to a very important office. I am sorry he has gone out, because I am going to mention two of the points where he will exercise great power and be of direct influence on the fortunes of the country in the duties of the office which he takes up on the 5th of March.

The Vice-President is, as you all know, the presiding officer of the Senate. There have been moments when I have thought it possible — and I have searched the Senate returns with some care [laughter] — that the organization of the Senate might turn on the casting vote of the Vice-President, as it has before. I think he is going to be relieved of that duty [laughter] because, according to the latest reports which I have received from the National Committee, the Republican majority in the United States Senate, which is now two, will be sixteen or eighteen [cheers and applause].

But there is another duty which he has, and to which I wished to call his particular attention. He has the power of recognition of those who take the floor in the Senate [laughter]. That, nothing can take from him. I wanted to point out to him particularly that it was the unwritten law of the Senate that the presiding officer should recognize on the one side, first, the leader of the majority of the Senate [laughter], and the leader of the minority if he wished to recognize the other side. But I shall take a later opportunity to call his attention to that [laughter].

And among Governor Coolidge's other great qualifications is one about which very little is said, which means a great deal to the Senate of the United States. He has had experience as a presiding officer. He is an admirable parliamentarian, and I know will guide the debates and the transaction of business in the Senate with that capacity and

intelligence which he has shown in every office which he has held [applause].

We have won, I repeat, a victory so large that it is now difficult to comprehend, but with the great victory come corresponding responsibilities. There are certain things that I feel sure we can do. We shall not bring any millennium to the country. We do not promise it. We promise to do the very best we can. But there are certain things I am certain that we can do. We can bring the Government back, and that is Senator Harding's policy, to those constitutional forms and limitations under which we have lived for one hundred and thirty years and under which we have prospered and grown great.

We can do something at least, and I think a good deal, to readjust the present tax laws which no man in business, no man with an income, can understand without the aid of a lawyer, and he can't usually understand them then [laughter]. We can so revise the tariff, not with a view to high protection necessarily, although I am bound to say that I am a protectionist [applause], so that duties on imports may at least pay a very fair share of taxes of the country, which they do not do now. [Cries of "Hear, hear," and applause]. Those are some of the most important things.

Hardly less important is the reduction of expenditures. The country does not realize yet, and will not realize until we get the facts fully before them, the waste, the utter waste of money that has been going on not only during the war but since the war ended. We are the most generous people in the world. We gave money to the cause without question. There was no complaint of taxation or of loans. The only competition was who should give most and give first. But, generous as we were and determined that money should never be stinted to achieve the great ends of victory, we did not like — perhaps it was impossible that we should follow with closeness — the expenditures made by the departments, and that generosity, that patriotism has been taken advantage of. We were ready to give; we were not ready to waste. And that waste and extravagance must come to an end, and that I think I can assure you will be done [applause].

We can make a peace with Germany and remove what is merely a technical state of war. As far as practical things go, that technical state of war with Germany is of no consequence, but some sixty war measures going beyond all constitutional limits ought to be repealed. The time has come to repeal nearly all of the purely war measures. We tried to do that at the last session of Congress, and it was vetoed by the President. I think I can assure you that a similar resolution passed by the next Congress will not be vetoed by the next President [applause].

And, lastly, we have brought to an end the attempt to force upon this country the League of Nations which Mr. Wilson brought back from Paris [cheers and applause] and that — although attempts have been made to force this upon the people — that is not the only League that can be made or the only method of promoting the peace of the world; and Senator Harding, a man always true to his promises, will take up at once the question of making an arrangement, call it an *entente* or a league or

an association, or what you will, — but an agreement among the nations of the earth looking to the peace of the world, and not to an alliance. That will be one of the first duties of this administration.

In all these questions I want to make this plea now, here, the day after election: I want to ask the American people who have given us their confidence, to be patient, to remember that these things which I have outlined, and there are many others, cannot be done in a moment. We come into power on the 5th of March, 1921, — strictly on the 4th, but that is not a day given to business. That is given to inaugurating presidents and vice-presidents. The business action of Congress and of the executives will begin on the 5th of March. Eighteen months after that we shall come to another national election, and I want you to bear in mind that the things that I have proposed, and which I believe the American people want done, are very important matters and cannot be done in a few minutes. If we try honestly and to the best of our ability and in good faith, as we shall, to make these changes and bring our Government back to Constitutional principles, to attend to the tariff and taxation and all those other matters, to seek for a new arrangement with the other nations which shall command the conscience and the heartfelt good-will of the American people, you must be patient and judge us by our works, by our intentions, and what we mean to do.

And especially when we are dealing with our foreign relations. Those things cannot be done in a moment. One of the difficulties of Mr. Wilson's League was, that it was formulated at the end, after months of discussing and postponing and putting over to somebody else, and letting George do it, — it was drafted, as you will see if you will read Dr. Dillon's book, — it was finally drafted in thirty hours, an instrument which was to affect the whole future of the United States and its relations to all its sister nations. There is a saying of Francis Bacon that "the councils to which time is not invited, time will not ratify." And we have had an experience in that direction. It will take time; but if I may repeat what I have said many times in addressing audiences, because it seems to me as nearly as possible to sum up the real issue and also to say what it is, we are determined when we make a new agreement with other nations, that it shall be one which America will not only accept but applaud, and we can undertake that with no obligations at all. We gave money, we gave men, and when the Peace Council assembled we asked nothing and we got nothing [laughter]. And I am prouder of that fact than of any other [applause], because we were under no obligation. We were asked to give during the war, and we gave in large measure, both of men and treasure. We were asked at the Peace Conference to give. We are asked now to give. Give! We ask nothing, but the request is to give, to give, to give! And I say only this, and this is what we shall determine when President Harding enters on his negotiation for a new agreement to promote the peace of the world: We are ready to give, we are under no obligation, but we do retain and we propose to retain the right to say what we shall give, when we shall give, and where we shall give [prolonged cheers and applause].

PRESIDENT ELLIS. Fellow-members of the Club, — I had hoped

to go on down the line of state officials, but I have had my chain blocked in that our newly elected Lieutenant-Governor says he does not wish to be called on. That stops the chain, but I don't want to monopolize as an officer of this Club the speaking on this platform, and I want to call on one more. In so doing I am going to divulge a little matter which happened in the Board of Governors two or three months ago. Our then secretary of the Club handed in his resignation as secretary. He was asked why he did that. He said he thought that if he was going to engage in active politics he ought not to retain his membership as an officer of the Club. At any rate, that he would rather be right than be governor. Now, with malice toward none and charity toward all the electors of this state chose to give him the first of those two alternatives [laughter], and we hope and expect that from now on, as heretofore, he will be right, even if he is not governor. Mr Walsh [applause].

HON. JOHN JACKSON WALSH.

Mr. President and Fellow-Members of the Club, — I have been deeply impressed with the fact that this is a non-partisan gathering [laughter]. I have learned also some things for future historical reference. One, the wit of the very able and very honorable Senior Senator from Massachusetts, which I can only attribute to the Celtic strain in him [laughter]; the other, the thought that even a Coolidge of Northampton can go South and return eloquent [laughter]. And now that I have heard loud adulation of the independence and patriotism of the city of Boston, I trust that in legislative matters it will no longer be considered "impossible" [laughter]. I especially call that to the attention of my successful and honorable opponent, the Governor-to-be, so that he may insert a reference in his inaugural address asking for fair play for Boston.

There will always be concord in Massachusetts [laughter], geographically and politically. It is a fortunate dispensation of Providence that, if one may not rejoice in his own success, he can share in the delight of another's advancement [applause]. For myself, I have only the disposition of one who is denied the opportunity of service that he would gladly perform. To an earnest man, intent upon the fullest contribution to public welfare, denial of opportunity is but a whetting of appetite [laughter].

There is a compensation in this hour when one may turn from the language of criticism and fault-finding, to the language of praise and well-wishing. It is a theory of democracy that, no matter what may be our hot contentions, we all in honor and in Americanism abide the result [applause]. Only an ill-ordered candidate could harbor the thought that, because he himself was not accepted, he owed no duty to those who were called by the free voice of the people to lead. It is ever to be remembered that all are subject to government, and that from each is expected a contribution in service according to his capacity.

You who have won are now singing your paens of victory; but they are but the prelude to a tremendous work to be entered upon in reconciling the divergent views of your leaders on fundamental things, and in

keeping the ship of state free from the barnacles of class selfishness. I wish you Godspeed in that reconciliation because that must precede the great culmination of the peace of the world.

Here, then, is an opportunity for all of us, Democrats and Republicans alike, to get together to prevent class discrimination and class legislation. In that work we ought not to be solely Democrats or Republicans. We may be either, but we must be more.

I am glad to learn of the large majority in the Senate and in the House, now that it is a fact recorded by the will of the people, and I am exceedingly rejoiced that the make-up of the Senate will no longer depend upon the vote of Senator Newberry [laughter].

As to the Governor who is to be Vice-President, it is not as Democrats or as Republicans that we greet him, but as Americans, glad in the larger recognition of that sterling worth which we have so long known, and without fear that, if Providence should call him to the highest place, he will not fail, by precept and example, to show forth unto the world the rugged spirit of the Puritan and the homely virtues of those other great human families who found here a haven and a hope [applause].

In a more personal way, gentlemen, I am privileged by association with him in the administration of the affairs of the Commonwealth to say: Smooth be your path, long be your days, and impressive your work, Calvin Coolidge, — silent by choice, vocal by necessity, and always lucky. [Applause.]

CHRISTMAS BOX FOR CLUB EMPLOYEES

Christmas boxes for Club employees have been placed in the Entrance Hall and in the Main Dining Room. Members who do not find it convenient to make use of the boxes may send checks to the House Committee.

The total amount subscribed in past years has not been in keeping with the size and character of the Club.

The fact that employees receive no tips means that the Christmas box is the only opportunity for members to show their appreciation of loyal service.

In these days when living costs are so excessive, the Waiters, the Bell-Boys, the Coat Room staff, the Porters, the Kitchen employees, the Engine Room force — all those who work for the Club, to the number of about 300, have their problems of expense.

So — this year more than ever — it is hoped that members will give generously.

HOUSE COMMITTEE.

WAITING LIST

The following is a list of those applicants whose names will come up for consideration before the Membership Committee at their December meeting. Any communications regarding the desirability of any applicant should be sent to Mr. A. C. Webber, Chairman of the Membership Committee. The names are arranged in the order in which they appear on the waiting list.

Harrison L. Evans	John B. Kirkpatrick
James H. Fitzpatrick	Jacob Ziskind
Jacob W. Tushins	Nelson H. Tucker
Thomas Glynn	Sturgis H. Hunt
Vincent N. Bellizia	Henry Mitchell
Joseph Harold Libbey	William Cuthbert Harrison
Nelson Waring	Carleton Doty Morse
Raymond B. Fletcher	Thomas Davidson
Earl L. Sparks	Joseph V. Harkins
John Ayer	Howard E. Chase
William A. Cleary, D.D.S.	Matthew O. Byrne
James F. DuVally, M.D.	James P. Hoar
Jerome L. Windmuller	Roderigue F. Soule
Harold Raymond Warren	Edward Watson Supple
Albert B. Bent	Roderick Fraser
William B. Brigham	Harry Hill Bigelow
Ben Hilborn Sugerman	John Francis Daly
George Eaton Kent	Paul Lincoln Folsom
Edward F. Worcester	Edmund Henry
Abraham Steinberg	Chas. M. Norcross
Ernest Jenkins Hoffman	Theodore H. Stegmaier
Alfred Fisher Wallace	Martin L. Anderson
John Ellsworth Wilson	Joseph J. Feely
Max Adler	William R. Tower
Herman Allen Savage	Warren P. Hosmer
John C. Robinson	John Kenny
Howard Allison Gray	Albert W. Vinal
Howard W. Hersey	Joseph A. Carson
Ralph Temple Jackson	John James Murphy
Robert J. Watson	Alonzo P. Speare
J. Hugh Jackson	Saul Drucker
Stephen Joseph Boylan	Abner Cohan
Charles H. Keene, M.D.	Edward Rogal
Frederic H. Spaulding	Harry L. Rogal
W. A. North	Levi Leroy Rowe
Oscar Shepard Hodgkins	George F. Wason
Fred Adolph Schneider	Samuel A. Corbitt
Clarence A. Strong	Charles H. Nadel
Maurice B. Fredericks	Timothy J. Nolan
Horace M. Grant	Edgar W. Emery

Lester E. Henry
Ernest D. Chase
Carl W. E. Freeman
Edward S. McCormick
George D. Dinkel
D. Allen Lenk
Frederick M. Ambrose
Fred Joy
William T. Beattie
Alcott F. Elwell
Simeon Atwood, Jr.
John V. Holland
Phineas Keith
Ralph E. Bailey
Frederick R. Smith
Harry W. Farquhar
Albert Goodhue
Edward D. Wallace
Joseph G. Campazzie
Martin E. Sweeney
DeWitt M. Taylor

Arthur Block
Descom D. Hoagland
Doremus Scudder
Austin Kuhns
Wesley Englehorn
Ralph M. Chase
Samuel E. Paulive
Maynard E. Wheeler
Richard G. Graham
A. G. Sheldon
Henry Fletcher Wood
Walter R. Scates
Ralph C. Blackson
Arthur C. Merk
John P. Illsley
Frank O. Robinson
George G. Brayley
D. Augustus Johnson
Ernest N. Dillaway
Merrill E. Champion

ART AND LIBRARY NOTES

PAINTINGS BY C. W. HUDSON

Several paintings by C. W. Hudson, a well-known Boston artist, which have been displayed in various parts of the house, have recently been re-hung in the Banquet Room on the ninth floor, where they present a striking appearance and can be seen to excellent advantage.

NATIONAL PARK MAPS AND PHOTOGRAPHS

There will be a special exhibition of maps and photographs, in the gallery on the third floor, from Monday, December 13, through Thursday, December 16, to illustrate the areas and localities involved in the contemplated water-power and irrigation privileges in National Parks. The exhibition is arranged with special reference to the meeting on Thursday evening, December 16, when Hon. John Barton Payne, Secretary of the Interior, is to address the members of the Club.

NECROLOGY

Frank T. Knight
Frank A. Marvin
W. H. L. Odell

Fred H. Roberts
Albert P. Worthen
Hamilton L. Paine

RECIPROCAL RELATIONS

The Boston City Club has reciprocal relations with the clubs listed below and members of the Boston City Club may have all the privileges of these clubs by presentation of their membership cards.

ALBANY, N. Y.	Albany Club, 102 State Street.
	Sleeping rooms (18); restaurant, 7 A.M. to midnight.
BALTIMORE, Md.	City Club, S. E. cor. Calvert and Fayette Streets. Restaurant, noon to 4 P.M.
BUFFALO, N. Y.	Ellicott Club, Ellicott Square Building. Restaurant, 8 A.M. to 8 P.M.
CHICAGO, ILL.	City Club, 315 Plymouth Court. Restaurant, 11.30 A.M. to 8 P.M.
CHICAGO, ILL.	Hamilton Club, 18 So. Dearborn Street. Sleeping rooms (20); restaurant, 8 A.M. to 9 P.M.
CINCINNATI, OHIO.	Business Men's Club, 9th and Race Streets. Restaurant, 11 A.M. to 12 midnight
CLEVELAND, OHIO.	City Club, Hollenden Hotel. Restaurant, 12 M. to 2 P.M.
DUBUQUE, IA.	Commercial Club, Ninth and Locust Streets. Restaurant, 12 to 1 P.M., 6 to 7 P.M.
HARTFORD, CONN.	City Club, 7 Central Row. Restaurant, 9 A.M. to 12 midnight.
INDIANAPOLIS, IND.	Chamber of Commerce, 28 So. Meridian Street. Restaurant, 11.30 A.M. to 2 P.M.
KANSAS CITY, Mo.	City Club, 1021 Grand Avenue. Restaurant, 11.45 A.M. to 2 P.M.
MEMPHIS, TENN.	Chamber of Commerce, 79 Monroe Avenue. Restaurant, 12 M. to 3 P.M.
MILWAUKEE, WIS.	City Club, 211 Grand Avenue. Restaurant, 11.30 to 2.00 and 5.30 to 8.00.
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.	Athletic Club, 621 Second Avenue South. Sleeping rooms (135); restaurant and every club facility.
NASHVILLE, TENN.	Commercial Club, 311 Fourth Avenue North. Restaurant, 11.30 to 3.00 and 6.00 to 8.30.
NEW YORK, N. Y.	Arkwright Club, 320 Broadway. Restaurant, 7 A.M. to 6 P.M.
OMAHA, NEB.	Chamber of Commerce, 14th and Farnam Streets. Restaurant, 11.30 A.M. to 2 P.M.
PHILADELPHIA, PA.	City Club. Sleeping rooms (20); restaurant, 7 A.M. to 8 P.M.
RICHMOND, VA.	Business Men's Club, 10th and Main Streets. Restaurant, 7.30 A.M. to 8 P.M.
SEATTLE, WASH.	Arctic Club, 308 Cherry Street. Sleeping rooms (47); restaurant.
ST. JOHN'S, N. F.	City Club, Water Street. Restaurant.
ST. LOUIS, Mo.	City Club, 911 Locust Street. Restaurant, 12 M. to 2.30 P.M.
WASHINGTON, D. C.	City Club, 1634 Eye Street Northwest. Sleeping rooms (20); restaurant, 7.30 A.M. to 9 P.M.

Members should consult this list in its latest form, as changes are constantly being made.